

Silver Jubilee Year Publication

KĒŚIRĀJA'S

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa



J. S. KULLI

KARNATAK UNIVERSITY, DHARWAR

RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS SERIES : 25

KĒŚIRĀJA'S ŚABDAMAṆIDARPAṆA

J. S. KULLI

*Institute of Kannada Studies
Karnatak University, Dharwar*



KARNATAK UNIVERSITY, DHARWAR

1976

About the book

The candidate has shown through out the work his thorough mastery over modern linguistics and also on Sanskrit and Kannada grammars. In fact, he has succeeded in presenting Kēśirāja to the international world of linguisticians and grammarians. The present analysis has justified in a great measure, Dr. Burnell's praise for Kēśirāja, viz., "The great and real merit of Śabdamañidarpaṇa is that it bases the rules on independent research and the usages of writers of repute etc."

Prof. M. MARIAPPA BHAT

*Retd. Head of the Dept. of Kannada
Madras University, Madras*

Mr. Kulli has shown his erudition in Sanskrit as well as in Kannada. He treats the subject commendably well and throws new light on various points such as the possibility of having an alveolar lateral and also agrees with the theory of reconstructing the fricative allophones of certain stop consonants. The scholars will be definitely convinced by the observations made by Mr. Kulli and appreciate the quotation he has given from Dr. Burnell, as a token of tribute to Kēśirāja.

Prof. K. KUSHALAPPA GOWDA

*Head of the Dept. of Kannada
Madras University, Madras*

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KRISHNA'S
SABDAMANDIRANA

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"Unconscious cognitive impulses" led to a
certain kind of decision-making
apparatus.

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Foreword

Dedicated to

Dr. R. C. HIREMATH

Vice-Chancellor

Karnatak University, Dharwar

for his inspiring guidance

dedicated to

DR. R. C. HIRENATH

Principal

Kannur University, Kerala

for his inspiring guidance

Foreword

Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa of Kēśirāja occupies a unique place amongst the treatises on grammatical literature of Dravidian languages. Though three works on grammar viz., Kavirāja Mārga, Sabdasmṛiti and Karnataka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa were written before Kēśirāja and though he is indebted to these works, Kēśirāja has done a thorough job in expressing the genius and intricacies of the Kannada language. He is quite sure of the ground on which he is standing. Gajaga, Guṇanandi, Manasija, Asaga, Guṇavarma, Srīvijaya, Ponna and Pampa are the illustrious writers on whose works he bases his grammar. This means that he was writing the grammar of the classical Kannada, since a lot of literature was readily available. He was a proud product of a great literary family, for he was the grandson of Kavisumanooḃana and the son of Mallikarjuna, the author of the famous Suktisudhārṇava an anthology in Kannada, and was the brother-in-law of Janna. Thus he could have access to a lot of old Kannada literature. In addition, he must also have access to the earlier form of literature which is not available to us at present. Since he had restricted his grammar to the classical Kannada, he does not explicitly refer to that old literature, but incidentally gives illustrations from that literature.

As a grammarian, he knew his job very well. He was to treat the phonology morphology and syntax also. But the time-spirit was such, that the Sanskrit grammatical literature which in a way was a model to all the grammars of Indian languages had the concept of grammar as the 'Padashāstra' or 'Shabdashāstra' or Morphology. Kēśirāja could not cross over the concept, but in the early chapters he has shown ample evidence about his knowledge of phonology. The modern concept of overall pattern and common core have been expressed by him when he is enumerating the phonemes of the Kannada

language. He gives the list of phonemes of the Kannada language including the Sanskrit and Prakrit vocables. Also he tries to establish the basic phonemes which are found exclusively in Kannada. We may or may not agree to the number of 'Varṇas' he has given, but we must appreciate his genius in hinting at two layers of phonology that exist in a language which is in contact with another language. While giving the examples for *l* and *ḷ*, the examples he gives are nothing but the minimal pairs.

In the treatment of morphology, he has analysed the noun under gender, number, case, the verb in all its aspects and so on. Looking purely from the point of modern grammarians, a few adjustments and short comings may be traced, but we are not justified in doing so. We have to look to the times when he wrote this grammar. In the 13th century when nobody knew many of those concepts, he could evolve his own methodology and give a complete description of the Kannada language under reference.

Now and then he refers to the spoken tongue of his times which, in a purely scientific descriptive grammar may be considered as out of place, but in the light of the situation when very few people gave any place to the spoken forms of those times, this seems to be highly welcome. His illustrations provide a rich treasure-house of the short, pithy, poetic passages, the works and authors of which are still to be traced. Kēśirāja has combined in himself a poet and a grammarian. That is how his work Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa stands unique in the field of Dravidian grammatical literature. Tolkāppium which is the earliest grammatical treatise of the Tamil language, is also another monument in the Dravidian grammatical field. But, it must be said that this grammar is not as exhaustive as Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. Hence, the study of these grammars is keenly felt necessary.

Dr. Kulli was found competent to undertake this study. Being primarily a student of Sanskrit language and literature, he had undergone training in the rigorous discipline of the Sanskrit Grammar. When he studied the Modern Linguistics for his second Master's Degree, he had acquainted himself with the fundamentals of the descriptive grammar. The treatise on Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa has been worked out under this background. For the first time the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa has been exposed to the modern Kannada scholars, who are very eager to find what has been happening in the Kannada language. This work certainly meets their demand.

Dr. Kulli has been awarded the Doctorate Degree of the Karnatak University, Dharwar for this work. He richly deserves this Degree for this valuable work. The entire grammar has been rearranged for the purpose of this study and now and then the missing links hither and thither have been pointed out. This, therefore, has become a fine study with the new interpretations which is the kernal point of the thesis. Interpretation of the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa according to old traditions is one thing. But what is necessary to day is to interpret them from the modern point of view. Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa studied as an old grammar would make no meaning at all because verse by verse the meaning was explained and illustrations were given. But, for centuries the main object of the grammar was lost sight of. People thought that it was to prescribe the rules and regulations to pass. This is completely wrong. If any body has said this including the author of Kavirāja Mārga he is wrong. Rules cannot be laid down either for the poet or for the speaker. He writes the language in which he has mastery. But the main object of the grammarian is to describe the hidden principles of the language. After going through the thesis of Dr. Kulli I am convinced as to why the students of Kannada literature should read Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa and why it is a great grammar. To point out this, is the main object of the thesis and Dr. Kulli has admirably fulfilled this object. I hope he will continue to do this type of work in future. I wish him all the success.

Karnatak University, Dharwar
15-12-1976

R. C. HIREMATH
Vice-Chancellor

P r e f a c e

Of the four traditional grammars written for the Kannada language there is only one fullfledged grammar written in Kannada. That work is Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa by Kēśirāja. Being the representative grammar of our tradition, it was thought it would be an usefull study if it was analysed from the modern linguistic point of view. With this idea Dr. R. C. Hiremath suggested this topic for my doctoral research.

No Kannada grammar is without the influence of Sanskrit grammatical tradition. If one differs from the other, the difference is only of degree. When Kēśirāja wrote his Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa in Kannada, unlike others, I was interested to know how far he is different from the point of view of Sanskrit influence. Hence I had to compare the Paṇinian and Kātantra schools with Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. It is interesting to note that with all his indebtedness to Sanskrit, he has shown originality.

For the convenience of analysis and for bringing the material that scatterd, the sūtras relating to one topic are treated under one head. Thus the rearrangement of the sūtras was felt necessary.

As a background for the study of this grammar I have given the survey of the entire literature on grammar and modern works. All this material is treated under three heads viz., grammatical approach, philological approach and linguistic approach. This survey is given in Appendix I.

I am indebted to many scholars in the field while preparing this work. At the outset I must express my heartfelt thanks to Dr. R. C. Hiremath, Vice-Chancellor, Karnatak University, who suggested the topic, guided the work and wrote a valuable Foreword to this work. Prof. A. Menezes, the matured scholar of English, has gone through the

manuscript and has made valuable suggestions. I am really grateful to him for this help. In the translation of the sūtrās of Śabdamañidarpaṇa I have taken help from the work of Dr. A. S. Kedilay of Madras University. I must thank him for this. Dr. M. S. Sunkapur, Professor and Head, Institute of Kannada Studies has encouraged me in all respects. My thanks are due to him. My students Sri A. Murigeppa and H. M. Maheshwaraiah have rendered their help in proof reading and I should not forget them.

I owe my indebtedness to the University Grants Commission with whose grants and assistance this work has been published. I must also thank Sri C. S. Kanavi, the Director, Sri S. B. Nayak, Deputy Director of the Publications Department, who are responsible for bringing out this volume. Lastly I must thank Sri V. B. Satyan of Kapila Power Press, Nanjangud for the excellent printing of the work.

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25-12-1976*

J. S. KULLI

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Abbreviations

AP	<i>Aitarēya Prātiśākhya</i>
ASSG	<i>Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammar</i>
CGD	<i>Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages</i>
CML	<i>A Course in Modern Linguistics</i>
CSPO	<i>Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammar</i>
GL	<i>General Linguistics : An Introductory Survey</i>
GOKI	<i>Grammar of Old Kannada Inscriptions</i>
HGOK	<i>Historical Grammar of Old Kannada</i>
HKL	<i>History of Kannada Language</i>
IDL	<i>Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics</i>
IL	<i>Indian Linguistics</i>
ILA	<i>An Introduction to Linguistic Analysis</i>
KBB	<i>Karnataka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa</i>
KBC	<i>Kannada Bhāṣa Caritre</i>
KKC	<i>Karnataka Kavi Carite</i>
KM	<i>Kavirāja Mārga</i>
KSP	<i>Kannada Sāhitya Pariṣatpatrike</i>
KV	<i>Kannada Varṇagaḷu</i>
M	<i>Morphology</i>
PAI	<i>Phonetics in Ancient India</i>
PK	<i>Prabuddha Karnataka</i>
POC	<i>Proceedings of the Oriental Conference</i>
PSG	<i>Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar</i>
RP	<i>Rk Prātiśākhya</i>

SD	<i>Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa</i>
SDS	<i>Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa Sūtra</i>
SPKL	<i>Some problems in Kannada Linguistics</i>
SS	<i>Śabdānuśāsana</i>
TP	<i>Taittirīya Prātiśākhya</i>
VP	<i>Vājasenīya Prātiśākhya</i>

KESIRAJA HIS EQUIPMENT AND LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

A) General Sanskrit Grammatical Climate

Anybody, without fear of contradiction, can say that in no other country was grammar studied and perfected with so much devotion and zeal as in India. A glance at the names of the grammarians and their works bears testimony to this. 'On the lowest calculation, there are yet current, in various parts of India, nearly a dozen schools of Sanskrit grammar, at least three hundred writers in the field, including those that are known to us only from quotations, and more than a thousand separate Treatises, original as well as explanatory.'¹ The greatness of Sanskrit grammar is not only in its quantity. Its quality is also praised the world over.

The earliest speculations of a grammatical nature, according to some scholars, are to be found in the Ṛgveda. But there is difference of opinion about it. Patanjali explains the Ṛgveda passage 'catvāri śringaḥ' as 'nāmākhyātopasarganipātāḥ'² and 'saptasindhavaḥ' as 'sapta vibhaktayaḥ'.³ But this interpretation is not generally accepted.

By the time of the '*Brāhmaṇas*', the passages in the Vedas had already been difficult to understand. The forms had become obsolete and new forms had entered. But the Vedas had a venerable position; hence, they had to be preserved intact. For this reason, the nature of the language of the Vedas was to be studied. This was the beginning of grammatical studies in India. But this sort of study in the '*Brāhmaṇas*' was of a secondary importance, the first place being occupied by sacerdotal studies.

It was only after the Brāhmanic stage that grammatical study began to grow. In the period when all the Vedic hymns were to be codified in the 'family' books, manuals of phonetics also came into existence. The manuals dealt with phonological topics, including accents, quantity, pronunciation and euphonic combination. These manuals grew into great literature. This was a branch of literature known as 'Śikṣās'. After this, one can notice a definite advance in grammatical science, in the *Padapāṭhas*, ascribed to Śākalya, in which are given the rules of euphonic combination, each word and each member of the compound separately, verb, prefixes, and suffixes of the noun.

Then there are the *Prātiśākhya*s. Their contents are :

classification of the Vedic texts,

definition of technical terms, and

attempt to reduce words to their elements and explain the mode of their grammatical formation.

After the *Prātiśākhya*s comes Yāska, the great writer of *Nirukta*. He is concerned with the etymology of Vedic terms. He is not, strictly speaking, a grammarian, but a philologist. But the study of etymology is allied to that of grammar. Yāska, who might have flourished about 800-700 years B C., was responsible for great advance in grammatical studies, though there were many works of an etymological and grammatical nature prior to Yāska, who mentions a few of them, which are to us mere names.

The study of Sanskrit grammar continued unbroken through Kātyāyana, Pāṇini, Patanjali, Bhartṛhari and scores of others. It was Pāṇini who raised the status of the science to Smṛti level. Pāṇini himself was venerated as a Ṛṣi. He built a science of grammar and produced Aṣṭādhyāyī, which is considered as 'the greatest monument of human intellect.'⁴

The study of Sanskrit grammar, so vast in terms of quality and quantity, was, naturally divided into many schools. Each school, in turn, had many treatises. In our study, here, we will deal with it on two levels, viz., 1) Pre-Pāṇiniyan grammarians, and 2) Pāṇiniyan and Post-Pāṇiniyan schools of grammar. As already indicated, there are more than three hundred writers and more than a thousand treatises. We propose to deal with the most important ones; among the rest, we will mention only a few.

1) *Pre-Pāṇiniyan Schools :*

In Sanskrit grammatical literature, Pāṇini is a sure milestone. But he was not the first grammarian. There had been many grammarians and schools of grammar prior to him. Of course, there are the 'Brāhmaṇas' to begin with, which contain a great number of grammatical speculations.

Bhōpadēva, a grammarian who flourished about the middle of the 13th century and wrote the 'Mugdhabōdha', enumerates in the following verse eight original authorities on Sanskrit grammar :

Indraś Candraḥ Kaśakṛtsn-Āpiśali Śakaṭāyanaḥ !
Pāṇiny-Amara-Jainēndrā-Jayatyaṣṭādi śābdakāḥ !⁵

The eight grammarians mentioned in this sūtra are: Indra, Candra, Kaśakṛtsna, Āpiśali, Śakaṭāyana, Pāṇini, Amara and Jainēndra. Of these eight, at least a few are prior to Pāṇini. The chief founders of grammatical schools prior to Pāṇini are Āpiśali and Kaśakṛtsna. Pāṇini himself mentions the grammarians that preceded him. They were: Kāśyapa, Gārgya, Gālava, Cakravarmaṇa, Bhāradhvāja, Śakaṭāyana, Śakalya, Śenaka and Sphoṭāyana.⁶ There were two Śakaṭāyanas, who flourished at different times. The earlier one is quoted by Yāska in his Nirukta and by Pāṇini in his Aṣṭādhyāyī. It is the later Śakaṭāyana that has used the Jainēndra grammar and the 'Kāśika', is known as Abhinava Śakaṭāyana, and is quoted by Bhōpadēva in his 'Mugdhabōdha'. This Śakaṭāyana was a Jaina, and his grammar is entitled 'Śābdānuśāsana'. Yāska, who came before Pāṇini, also mentions Gārgya and Śakaṭāyana. Except this information about the pre-Pāṇiniyan grammarians, nothing is known to us.

2) *The School of Pāṇini :*

The work which brought into focus the tentative efforts of the early grammarians, and by its accuracy and thoroughness eclipsed all its predecessors, dominating the thoughts of generations of thinkers even to present times, is the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. It is a rare example of technical perfection. Aṣṭādhyāyī, composed during the period 700-600 B.C. approximately, assimilated in it all the grammatical currents up to its time, and became a great monument of grammatical science.⁷ Before the perfection and greatness of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, all previous authors on grammar faded into oblivion. Hence, posterity received nothing but their names, remembered with little reverence.

Pāṇini's work contains nearly four thousand sūtras divided into eight *adhyāyas* of four *pādas* each; hence, it is called Aṣṭādhyāyī. The text of the sūtras handed down to us is almost intact. The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, said to have been based on Māheshvara sūtras, is a very exhaustive and precise work on the Sanskrit language.

In addition to Aṣṭādhyāyī, Pāṇini also composed a Padapāṭha—a list of roots, a Gaṇapāṭha—list of words which behave alike grammatically, and Uṇādi sūtras.

The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini was an epoch-making work. It was treated with great respect by every one, everywhere. To add to this, Pāṇini was fortunate enough to have a commentator like Patanjali, who could dispel any doubts that were raised against the master.

There are other, equally brilliant, adherents of this school, viz., Kātyāyana, Bhartṛhari etc., who are also held in high esteem. Kātyāyana is the earliest great name in this tradition.

3) Kātyāyana :

The Kathāsaritsāgara makes Kātyāyana the contemporary of Pāṇini or even senior to him,⁸ but there is no unanimity about this. Others think that the date of Kātyāyana may be approximately 500–350 B.C.

Kātyāyana's work – the Vārtikās – is written specially to correct, modify or supplement Pāṇini's rules wherever required. There are two works by Kātyāyana viz.,

Vājaseneyi Pratiśākhya – a work dealing with the grammar and the orthography of the Vājaseneyi saṁhitā.

Vārtikās, where his aim is to explain such of Pāṇini's sūtras as he thinks, deserve attention.

So, he has bypassed the correct sūtras. He has subjected Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī to searching criticism. Of the nearly 4000 sūtras, Kātyāyana noticed over 1500 in about 4000 of his Vārtikās. In addition to raising doubts or objections in regard to Pāṇini's sūtras, he has solved or removed doubts. Some of the Vārtikās are in prose, while others are in metrical form. Kātyāyana clearly mentions the sūtras to which his Vārtikā refers.

Patanjali :

The chief and most authoritative commentary on Pāṇini's work is Mahābhāṣya by Patanjali. It occupies a unique place in the grammatical literature of the world. The Mahābhāṣya is great in everything – in bulk, as well as in intellect. It is the final court of appeal on all matters grammatical.⁹ Patanjali flourished about 150 B.C.

Patanjali's chief mission was to vindicate Pāṇini against Kātyāyana's unmerited attacks. In this, he achieved remarkable success. The style of his work is unparalleled in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. Mahābhāṣya, like Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, is also divided into eight *adhyāyas* of four *pādas* each, each *pāda* being subdivided into nine '*āhnikas*'. Mahābhāṣya does not cover all the sūtras of Pāṇini. Only those which were considered by Kātyāyana and were felt by him to be incomplete and capable of improvement, were considered.

Patanjali mentions two early grammarians, viz., Vyāḍi and Vājaṇṣya. Vyāḍi a famous grammarian, wrote 'Saṅgraha'. About Vājaṇṣya's work, nothing is known.

Bhartṛhari is one more celebrity in the field of Sanskrit grammar. He is the author of Vākyapadīya and the commentary on the Mahābhāṣya. Bhartṛhari flourished in the 7th century A.D. The Vākyapadīya is a metrical composition discussing the philosophy of grammar. It has three chapters, 1) the Brahma or Āgama Kāṇḍa, 2) the Vākya Kāṇḍa, and 3) the Pāda or Prakaraṇa Kāṇḍa. This work is also held in high esteem.

In addition to these celebrities, there were many other scholars some of whom are very popular. To mention a few of them :

1) Jayāditya and Vāmana's *Kāśikā*

Kāśikā is a commentary on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, giving numerous examples for each rule. The first five chapters were written by Jayāditya (660 A.D.) and the remaining three chapters by Vāmana.

2) Jinendrabuddhi's '*Nyāsa*' on the '*Kāśikā*'

This is a commentary on the '*Kāśikā*', entitled '*Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-panjikā*' or '*Kāśikā-nyāsa*'. The author lived about 750 A.D.

3) Kaiyaṣa's *Pradīpa*

Pradīpa, a commentary on the Mahābhāṣya, was written by Kaiyyaṭa in the eleventh century A.D. He has followed Bhartṛhari's lines.

Then there is Rūpamāla, which is a recast of Aṣṭādhyāyī, written by Vimala Saraswati of the 14th century. After this, there are various Kaumudis. The writer of one such Kaumudi is Rāmacandra (first half of fifteenth century) and his work is 'Prakriyā Kaumudi'. The most important one among the Kaumudi works is the 'Siddhāntakaumudi' of Bhaṭṭoji Dixit. At present, it is the only popular introduction to Pāṇini's grammar. The date of Bhaṭṭoji Dixit is about 1630 A.D.

There are still a number of commentaries on each of the authors mentioned. In addition, there are abridgements, manuals, Dhātupāṭhas, Gaṇapāṭhas, and many others. It is not necessary for us to give details of these. One fact is, however, very clear: that the following of the school of Pāṇini is unparalleled in any field of study, anywhere in the world.

There are, indeed, many other schools besides that of Pāṇini's. But no other school attained his popularity. We will mention the various schools below:

1) *The Cāndra School*

Candragōmin was the founder of this school. His work is Cāndra Vyākaraṇa, written in about 470 A.D. His work was meant to be an improvement on that of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patanjali, mainly by way of greater brevity and precision. In many cases, the rules of Pāṇini are recast for the sake of securing facility of pronunciation. There are 35 sūtras, which are incorporated in the Kāśikā, and are the contribution of Candragōmin. The total number of the Cāndra sūtras, is about 3100. Candragōmin's object was to 'rearrange the grammatical material with the object of bringing together all the rules that deal with the same phonetic or grammatical operations.'¹⁰ In addition to this work, Candragōmin also wrote many other works viz., an Uṇādi list, Liṅgānuśāsana, Gaṇapāṭha, Upasarga vṛtti, and Varṇa sūtra.

As usual, there are various commentaries etc., in this school.

2) *The Jainēndra School*

The traditional author of the aphorisms of this school is Jina or Mahāvīra. But Dēvaṇandi is the actual author of these sūtras.

Another name for this Dēvaṇandi is Pūjyapāda. The latter part of the fifth century is considered to be the date of this school.

There are two versions in which Jainēndra Vyākaraṇa has come down to us. The shorter one contains about 3000 sūtras, while the longer one gives more than 700 sūtras not found in the shorter version. The Jainēndra grammar is just Pāṇini and the Vārtikās condensed as much as possible. Economy is the main merit of this work.

3) The Śākaṭāyana School

Śākaṭāyana's work is Śabdānuśāsana. It appeals to a limited section. This Śākaṭāyana is the later of the two Śākaṭāyanas. In addition to using Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patanjali, Śākaṭāyana has also used Jainēndra Vyākaraṇa. He gives the sūtras of Pāṇini *in toto*, except when he wants to modify them.

Śākaṭāyana's Śabdānuśāsana has four *adhyāyas* of four *pādas* each, the total number of sūtras being about 3200. He does not treat of Vedic grammar.

4) The Hēmacandra School

This is one of the more important sectarian schools of Grammar, and was founded by Hēmacandra – a Jaina monk. He flourished towards the end of the 11th century A.D. and at the beginning of the 12th.

Hēmacandra wrote a grammar entitled Śabdānuśāsana. It, too, consists of eight *adhyāyas* of four *pādas* each, and the total number of sūtras is 4550. The last chapter exclusively deals with the Prakrit languages. His aim in writing the grammar is to present in the shortest manner possible all that is said by his predecessors and all that can be said. He has drawn upon all the previous works without hesitation. He also has written a commentary on his grammar named Śabdānuśāsana Bṛhadvṛtti. The commentary is very exhaustive and quotes the previous views in detail.

5) The Kātantra School

The word Kātantra, according to commentators, means a short treatise, a handbook, wherein the subtleties of Pāṇini's grammar have been avoided. These were written to satisfy the popular need.

The Kātantra school is also known as the Kaumāra, or Kālāpa school. This Kātantra grammar might have been written in the first century A.D. The name of the work is Kātantra sūtrapāṭha and that of the founder of the school is Śarvavarman. The topics dealt within it are divided into four parts :

Sandhi,

Noun,

Inflections, and

Krits.

The merit of the work lies chiefly in its brevity. Whereas Pāṇini has 4000 sūtras, Śarvavarman has compressed all that material into only 855 sūtras. According to Dr. Burnell,¹¹ the Tamil grammar Toḷakāppiyam and the Kannada grammar Śabdamāṇidarpaṇa are related to the Kātantra grammar, which belongs to the Aindra School.

Durgasiṃha, who belonged to the eighth century, wrote a commentary on the Kātantra grammar in order to explain the Kātantra grammar in an easy manner.

6) *The Sārasvata School*

The Sārasvata School flourished in North India, and was encouraged by the Mohammadan rulers. It flourished in the fourteenth century. The Sārasvata school treats the subject with great brevity and simplicity. It has used only 700 sūtras to expound its subject. When the Kātantra School was popular because of its brevity (about 1400 sūtras in all), the presentation of the subject in only 700 sūtras in the Sārasvata grammar is a real achievement.

The author of the Vārtikās to the Sārasvata is considered to be Anubūtiśvarūpācārya. But he was only a commentator, his work being 'Sārasvata Prakriyā'. The author of the Sārasvata sūtras is one Narāṇḍrācārya. There are great many commentators in this school : Amṛtabhāratī, Kṣēmaṇḍra, Mādhava etc., to cite only a few.

7) *The Bhōpadēva School*

The founder of this school is Bhōpadēva, and his work is Mugdhabodha. The middle of the thirteenth century is considered to be his date.

The various treatises were written to improve upon Pāṇini's sūtras or to make them more accurate. The Vārtikās etc., which had set out

on this task, were more difficult. Other independent schools were mostly sectarian. Bhōpadeva's aim was simplicity and brevity, without any sectarian bias. His mode of treatment is like that of the Kātantra grammar. He differs from Pāṇini even in the use of technical terms. This divergence was not universally acceptable, as they were accustomed to Pāṇini's terminology.

8) *The Jaumara School*

This school has, strangely enough, become popular not through its founder, but the commentator. The founder of this school is Kramadīśvara, and his work is Sankṣipta Śāra. This is, perhaps, an abridgement of Pāṇini. This was the first abridgement which was the forerunner of the later Kaumudis. This Sankṣipta Śāra has undergone a thorough revision by Jaumaranandi. The name of his vṛtti is 'Rasavati' and consequently the school is known also as 'Rasavata school'.

9) *The Saupadma School*

The founder of this school is Padmanābhādatta, who may be placed in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

Padmanābhādatta's work is based on Pāṇini. He has remodelled Pāṇini's sūtras, arranged them in a more methodical manner, and added a short explanation after each sūtra. His grammar is known as the 'Saupadma grammar'.

The resume given above of the grammatical works in Sanskrit reveals that the most conclusive works in the development of grammatical science have been preserved to us. Many works, whether important or not, which could reconstruct the history of particular school, are completely lost to us. Hence, we are in the dark as to the growth of each school. But we have to thank our stars for the fact that at least the most conclusive works are available. The grammatical sense of the ancient Indians was awakened by their study of the traditional sacred texts, and by their comparison of its language with that in contemporary use. Dr. Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti, in his book 'The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar',¹² gives three reasons why grammatical activities in ancient India were possible.

1) Some features of spontaneous growth, followed consciously or unconsciously in the utterance of a significant sentence, marked the

basis of grammatical generalisation. While combining two words together in their speech, they followed, instinctively, certain rules.

2) The second reason in the evolution of grammar as a scientific branch of knowledge was necessity. This urgent necessity was more religious than academic. It was to devise some practical way of ensuring a successful study of the Vedas. The result was the evolution of grammatical science.

3) Side by side with Sanskrit, there were growing different forms of Prakrit, which, in course of time, became very popular. This gave an impetus to the rise of so many schools in Sanskrit grammar. So far, only that Sanskrit which was mostly the language of the cultured community, was studied. But when the Prakrit languages began to gain ground, they forced entrance into the study of language.

Against this background, the Sanskrit grammatical science grew into a huge system. After the Vedas, it was grammatical science that enjoyed the most prominent place in the studies of the ancient Hindus. Grammar is called the 'mouth of the Vedas' (Vyākaraṇaṁ mukhaṁ smṛtaṁ) and it is also called 'Vēdānām Vēda'.¹³ A science, that was able to produce great intellectuals like Pāṇini, Patanjali etc., was bound to influence other languages. And the Kannada language, which had assimilated the influence of Sanskrit in its formative period, was no exception. It marches in the footsteps of Sanskrit in every respect, and more so in the grammatical field.

The grammars in Kannada also followed one or the other Sanskrit school. According to scholars like Dr. Burnell,¹⁴ Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa belongs to the Kātantra school of grammars. The specific reason why Kannada grammarians followed the Sanskrit grammars closely is that it was the most developed and mechanically precise system, built by Pāṇini and others. Sanskrit grammar had developed a rich fund of technical terms. All the languages of India, including Kannada, borrowed heavily from Sanskrit. This is the reason why the influence of Sanskrit on Kannada is so marked.

The impact of Sanskrit grammarians on Kannada grammarians is of three varieties. Firstly, there is the influence of Pāṇini. Secondly, that of other schools of Sanskrit grammar like Kātantra etc., is clearly noticed. And finally, there is the influence of Prākṛit grammars. Kannada grammarians draw upon Sanskrit material.

Though they have taken much material from Sanskrit, it appears that they have not made use of Tamil or Telugu grammars especially the *Tōḷakāppiaṁ*, the reputed Tamil grammar almost of Patanjali's time.

The three grammarians of Kannada, viz., Nāgavarma II, Kēśirāja and Bhaṭṭakaṣaṇka did not propose to write a grammar for the Kannada language purely. Their intention was to write a grammar for Kannada which has assimilated Sanskrit and Prākṛit forms in terms of vocabulary, phonology and syntax. This fact has to be considered in assessing the influence of Sanskrit on Kannada grammar. Kēśirāja says¹⁵ that he is writing a 'Karṇāṭaka Lakṣaṇa Śabdaśāstra'. But this means that he is writing a grammar for literary Kannada, which contains forms from Sanskrit and Prākṛit. In the Kannada language of our grammarians, all the forms, tatsama, tadbhava, dēśya, anyadēśya, etc., are included. Whenever they have to deal with a particular point which is already discussed in Sanskrit grammars, they say it clearly that it has already been discussed in Sanskrit grammars, and so they are not discussing it.¹⁶ In their grammars, our grammarians intended to present a grammar for literary Kannada on the canvas of Sanskrit grammars, and only where there is an obvious feature of difference, do they state it. We can recall Kēśirāja's enumeration of Kannada alphabet.¹⁷ There he starts first with the enumeration of Sanskrit sounds, then he adds the sounds peculiar to Kannada and finally substracts the sounds peculiar to Sanskrit. All this is to establish the inventory of significant sounds of Kannada. In short, Kannada grammarians wrote under the complete influence of Sanskrit.

Add to this, not a single grammarian in Kannada wanted to build a system of grammar for Kannada. His intention was to accommodate the Kannada language-structure into the well-established system of Sanskrit grammar. While writing a Kannada grammar, what he did was to follow established authorities like Pāṇini and Prākṛit works.

The Prākṛit languages also exerted a great deal of influence both on Kannada grammars and on the Kannada language. The Prākṛits were equally well respected languages. These, each with a rich literature of its own, influenced even Sanskrit, with the result that the regional forms of Prākṛit entered Sanskrit drama. They were next only to Sanskrit. Moreover, great grammars were also written for

the Prākṛit languages by scholars like Vararuchi. Just as Sanskrit words had entered into Kannada in the form of tatsamas and tadbhavas, so Prākṛit words also came into Kannada. Hence, it was but natural for Kannada grammarians to follow Prākṛit grammars also. Kannada grammarians wrote their grammars following both Sanskrit and Prākṛit grammars. The impact of Sanskrit upon the Kannada grammarians was so great that they even preferred to write their grammars for Kannada in Sanskrit. Out of the four Kannada grammars by three grammarians, two are in Sanskrit. The first full-fledged grammar for Kannada, by Nāgavarma II, was in Sanskrit. As Nāgavarma was following the Sanskrit grammatical pattern and adopting the same technical terms, he thought it fit to use also the Sanskrit language. The last grammar also came to be written in Sanskrit. Bhaṭṭākaṣaṅka wrote the sūtras, vṛtti and even commentary also in Sanskrit.

While following the Sanskrit grammatical system for Kannada, with the necessary changes, and also writing their grammars in Sanskrit, the Kannada grammarians might have had some basic assumption about the nature of grammar. This assumption might have been that there is no difference between one language and another. In the commentary under 442 of Śabdānuśāsana, Bhaṭṭākaṣaṅka says that there is no difference, so far as the theory and the grounds for the theory are concerned. It is only while implementing the theory that the question of difference in language arises. Whatever applies to the Sanskrit language, may apply to the Kannada language as well. The fallacy in such an assumption is unmistakable. They equated the structure of Kannada with the structure of Sanskrit. They ignored the fundamental structural differences of each language. So, the grammars they produced under the influence of Sanskrit were not true grammars of the Kannada language.

Scholars of the eminence of Dr. A. C. Burnell are of the opinion that Kannada grammars, including Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, belong to the Kātantra school of the Aindra system. To substantiate Dr. Burnell's view, the characteristics of the Kātantra grammars should be studied and then an attempt should be made to trace the same in Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa.

The characteristics may be divided into two sorts, viz.,

Use of technical terms, and

Arrangement of the subject matter.

The grammars belonging to the Aindra school have a natural arrangement as opposed to the artificial arrangement of Pāṇini.¹⁸ The natural arrangement of the topic in a Kātantra grammar is : First, there is a topic of phonetics and an elaborate description of the alphabet. Next comes the treatment of the nouns, verbal themes (ākhyāta), 'krit' affixes, particles (nipāta), indeclinables (avyaya), etc. This kind of arrangement appears natural and logical. The arrangement of the topics in Pāṇini's schools of grammar is :

technical terms, rules of interpretation of the sūtras, explanation of technical terms, etc.

Samāsa, use of cases, affixes.

Affixes which form verbs and nouns.

Augment and reduplication, accent, inflection.

Special rules; rules of euphony.

It can be seen from the arrangement of the topics in the two systems that Pāṇini's arrangement is different from that found in Kātantra. It is artificial, as against the simple and natural arrangement of Kātantra. Moreover, the treatment, which is on a very advanced level, cannot be easily understood by the beginner. A Kātantra grammar is useful for the beginner who wants to study Sanskrit.

In the use of technical terms, the two systems differ widely.¹⁹ The Aindra system uses common words, of course in a technical sense. In the Pāṇini's school, the technical terms are highly artificial abbreviations, or letters used with a conventional value assigned to them. They are not words, but symbols. In this respect, there is little in common between the Kātantra and the Pāṇini's schools. Of course, some terms of the former are found in the latter. Various points in this connection may be enumerated:

The fourfold division of words into: nāman (noun), ākhyāta (verb), upasarga (preposition) and nipāta (particle). This device is found in Yāska and Kātantra. In Pāṇini, only upasarga and nipāta being retained, others are treated in a more complicated way. In Pāṇini, for *nāma* we find the term *sup* and *subanta*, for *ākhyāta* we find *tiñ*. Both are artificial technical coinages and should belong to an advanced stage. For the old simple terms in Kātantra there is an elaborate classification in Pāṇini.

Coming to terms in phonetics: in a Kātantra grammar, a vowel is 'svara', a consonant is 'vyanjana'. Vowels are either short (hrasva) or long (dīrgha). Consonants may have further sub-divisions, viz., medials (antasthāḥ) and fricatives (ūṣmāṇaḥ). The term for vowels except a, ā, is 'nāmin'. The term for diphthong is 'sandhyakṣara.' Then, there is the term 'samāna', a name of the vowels a to ṛi. The latter is indicated by the term varga (kavarga etc.).

Compared with the above Kātantra system, that of Pāṇini at once appears to be totally different. In Pāṇini, there is no classification of the letters. The use of 'varga' to name a class of letters (e.g. Kavarga etc.) is replaced in Pāṇini's system by the single letter 'u' suffixed (e.g., ku means ka-varga). Among the above terms, only hrasva and dīrgha, according to Burnell, occur in Pāṇini, that too, not as part of the system.

In Kātantra, we have 'sthāna' (point of articulation); in Pāṇini the term is 'āśya'. The term 'mātrā', to indicate the time taken by the letter, which is found in Kātantra, is not to be seen in Pāṇini. In Kātantra, the terms relating to ākhyāta are: vibhakti, and 8 cases are termed prathamā, dvitīyā, etc. up to āmantrita, or āmantraṇa (vocative). Some of these terms are found in Pāṇini, but not as part of his system. For vocative, in Pāṇini we find 'sambuddhi', which also occurs in Kātantra besides āmantrita. There is no use of gaṇas (*i.e.*, words which behave alike), whereas in Pāṇini there is a detailed treatment of them.

On the strength of the comparison of these technical terms, the conclusion Dr. Burnell arrives at are :²⁰ The terms used by Pāṇini prove that these are far more artificial and precise and, therefore, more recent than the former. So, where the Aindra grammars have an ordinary word used in a technical sense, Pāṇini mostly has a mere symbol. If the series of technical terms just discussed be considered, it becomes clear that Kātantra belongs to a system all together different from that of Pāṇini. Thus, there is an older school than Pāṇini which is called Aindra school, to which many other works like Kātantra etc. belong. Though the various schools, like Kātantra, Sārasvata etc., have some special features in relation to one another, broadly speaking, they belong to the Aindra school of grammarians.

In the light of the distinguishing features of the Kātantra and the Pāṇini school, let us examine the features of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa and determine its affinity.

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa first treats of phonetics. For vowels, Kēśirāja uses the term 'svara', for diphthongs 'sandhyhḥṣara'. Except the vowels a, ā, all others are called nāmin. Consonants are termed 'vyanjana'. There is either a nominal theme (liṅga), or verbal theme (dhātu). By the addition of *vibhakti*, or by *pratyaya*, it becomes a 'word' (pada). The second chapter is on nouns. The seven cases are 'prathamā', 'dvitīyā' etc. The vocative is called 'āmantraṇa', or 'saṃbuddhi'. The third chapter is on 'samāsa'. The fourth is on derivative nouns 'taddhita'. The fifth is on verbs 'ākhyāta'. The sixth is on roots; the seventh on corrupt Sanskrit words (tadbhavas). The last chapter is on particles 'avyaya'. Thus, throughout, the arrangement and technical terms closely follow the Kātantra school.

On the study of the grammars of Indian languages like Tamil, Telugu and Kannada, Dr. Burnell says,²¹ 'the great and real merit of the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa is that it bases the rules on independent research and the usage of writers of repute; in this way, it is far ahead of the Tamil and Telugu treatises, which are much occupied with vain scholastic disputations'.

B Family Environment

So far, we observed the general grammatical climate, under the inevitable influence of which the Kannada grammarians, including Kēśirāja, wrote their grammars. At the time when Kēśirāja was to write his Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, that great tradition was there for him. Hence, from the point of view of grammatical traditions, the well perfected Sanskrit grammars were helpful to him. This grammatical tradition was for everyone to use. But of all the scholars, how did Kēśirāja become a great grammarian? For this, there is another important reason: his family background.

Kēśirāja belonged to a family of great scholars. He had inherited scholarship from all sides. Let us see what sort of family traditions Kēśirāja had inherited. He gives information about his descent in the following verse:²²

kavisumanōbāṇana yā -
 davakaṭakācāryaneseva douhitranenām -
 kavikēśavanem yōgi -
 pravaraacidānandamallikārjunana sutanem !

'I, the son of the daughter of (Sumanōbāṇa), the poet Sumanōbāṇa, who was a teacher of military art to the army of the Yādava kings: I, Kavi Kēśava by name, am the son of Cidānanda Mallikārjuna, who is the best among yogis'.

His grandfather, Sumanōbāṇa, taught military art to the army of Yādava kings. Kēśirāja's father was Cidānandamallikārjuna.

This Sumanōbāṇa was the father of the great poet Janna, author of 'Yaśodhara Carita'. Janna's statements viz.,

bhāḷalōcanaṁ kavisumanō

bāṇana maganendakhila -

kṣōṇige pesarāytu!²³

and,

'Sankara putraṁ kavi kammevaṁśanadhikajnaṁ kāśyapaṁ',²⁴ are helpful in establishing Sumanōbāṇa as Janna's father. His real name was Sankara. Sumanōbāṇa was, perhaps, an epithet. He belonged to the Kamme family. His wife's name was Gangā. No work written by him is available to us. But Mallikārjuna, Janna and Kēśirāja praise him in very high terms. This helps us to decide that he was a great poet.

Kēśirāja's father was Mallikārjuna. He compiled the 'Sūktisudhārṇava', an anthology of poem relating to poets etc. His 'Sūktisudhārṇava' is a valuable work, in as much as it mentions many previous poets. He was the son-in-law of Sumanōbāṇa. Sumanōbāṇa's daughter, Janna's sister, was his wife.

Janna was Kēśirāja's maternal uncle, i.e., Janna's sister was Kēśirāja's mother. This Janna wrote 'Yaśodhara Carita', and 'Anantanātha Purāṇa', which are available today. It is inferred that he wrote another work 'Smaratantra', which is not available.

Janna held the title, 'poet-emperor' (kavicakravarti). As, many poets after him have praised him, it is needless to say that he was held in high esteem by scholars.

This was the great family-tradition of Kēśirāja. He was brought up in a literary atmosphere, which helped him blossom into a great grammarian. This way, Kēśirāja was doubly fortunate in being an heir to a great grammatical tradition in general, and being brought up in a great scholastic atmosphere in particular.

C Kesirāja's Equipment

Now, we will consider Kēśirāja's equipment, which is responsible for making him a great grammarian.

In his Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, while stating the sources of his illustrations etc., he says :

gajagana guṇanandiya mana
sijanasagana candrabhaṭṭa guṇavarma śrī
vijayara honnana hampana
sujanōttamsana sumārgamidaḡolaksyaṁ !²⁵

Kēśirāja relied for his illustrations on Gajaga, Guṇanandi, Manasija, Asaga, Candrabhaṭṭa, Guṇavarma, Śrīvijaya, Honna and Sujanōttamsa. Though he states specifically that the path laid down by the above poets has been his ideal, verses of all of them are not found in his work. Moreover, these are not his only sources. There are many works which are made use of in his illustrations. The following are the sources including those mentioned above :

1) Śrīvijaya

In the verse quoted above, the name of Śrīvijaya appears. He wrote Kavimārga, an earlier version of Kavirāja Mārga, according to some scholars. He also wrote Candraprabha Purāṇa, which is not now available.

2) Kavirāja Mārga

It is the first available work in Kannada which deals with poetics. In addition, it deals with grammatical topics. Thus, it is a very valuable work. Surprisingly, Kēśirāja has taken very little from this book. The following are the verses taken from Kavirāja Mārga :

82 - 5	(readings)	106 - 7	(3 - 233)
112 - 2	(1 - 15)	100 - 9	(1 - 32)

3) Asaga

Asaga appears to have been a much respected poet, as Ponna, Durgasimha, Kēśirāja and others praise him. He might have lived before 950 A.D. as that happens to be the age of Ponna, who refers to Asaga. There are two authors of the same name, Asaga : one, the author of

Vardhamāna Purāṇa and Śānti Purāṇa, both in Sanskrit; and the other, the author of Kumāra Saṁbhava, in Kannada. Kēśirāja has apparently quoted from Asaga's Kumara Saṁbhava. The following are the verses from Kumāra Saṁbhava :

232 - 9	69 - 3
235 - 4	234 - 5

There are other illustrative verses also which refer to the Śiva legend, which may be ²⁶ from the same work :

75 -	179 -
82 -	243 -
127 -	

4) Guṇanandi

In addition to Kēśirāja, Guṇanandi is referred to by Mallikārjuna. Mallikārjuna has taken some verses from him. Guṇanandi wrote grammar in Sanskrit entitled Prakriyāvatāra. There is a lone verse in Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa quoted from Guṇanandi, viz., 35-2.

5) Guṇavarma

Kēśirāja, in addition to mentioning Guṇavarma, quotes from his works. Guṇavarma's works are two, viz., Harivaṁsa and Śūdraka. Kēśirāja quotes a verse, 'enittenittambujapatranātreya', but does not indicate its source. The same verse is quoted in Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa, wherein it is stated, 'Guṇavarma Kavērbhuvanaikarāmasya prayōgaḥ.'²⁷ Hence, it belongs to one of Guṇavarma's works, but from which it is, is not known. The following are the verses quoted from his Harivaṁsa and Śūdraka.

From Harivaṁsa :

128 - 3	128 - 2
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From Śūdraka :

79 -	181 - 3
257 - 1	190 - f. n.
194 -	228 - 8
198 -	228 -
228 - 7	

6) Pampa

Pampa, the first and the greatest poet in Kannada, is a constant source for Kēśirāja, who has taken examples from both of his works, viz., Ādipurāṇa and Vikramārjuna Vijaya popularly called Pampa Bhārata. The following are the verses from Ādipurāṇa and Pampa Bhārata:

From Ādipurāṇa :

194 - 4 (reading)	54 - 1
192 - 3	63 - 7
145 - 1	111 - 1
125 - 1	191 - 6 (reading)
55 - 1	90 - 4
106 - 4	109 - 4 (reading)
92 - 3	246 - 6
97 - 4	191 - 6 (reading)
232 - 5	171 - 1
55 - 7	113 - 1
236 - 8	104 - 1
139 - 1	193 - 1
114 - 5	194 - 2
11 - 3	92 - 1
11 - 6	128 - 1
70 - 3	111 - 4
187 - 2	140 - 1
128 - 7	

From Pampa Bhārata:

234 - 9	(3 - 12)	226 - 2	
128 - 4	(2 - 48)	137 - 4	(4 - 41)
153 - 1	(4 - 41)	148 - 3	(10 - 10)
240 - 4	(6 - 40)	186 - 5	(3 - 27)
63 - 6	(6 - 40)	194 - 1	(10 - 25)
196 - 5	(3 - 25)	100 - 5	(10 - 25)
58 - 7		87 - 1	(87 - 33)
196 - 4	(3 - 27)	170 - 1	(2 - 80)
180 - 3	(3 - 43)	143 - 2	(3 - 62)

7) Ponna

Ponna has written Śānti Purāṇa and Jinākṣara Māle. In addition to these, he seems to have written Bhuvanaika Rāmābhyudaya and

Gatapratyāgata. Kēśirāja has taken the following verses from Śānti Purāṇa and Bhuvanaika Rāmabhyudaya:

From Śānti Purāṇa :

114 - 1	199 - 1	(12 - 77)
248 - 4	(9 - 52)	269 - 6 (1 - 63)

From Bhuvanaika Rāmabhyudaya:

122 - 1	176 - 1
159 -	

8) Nāgavarma I

Nāgavarma I, who flourished in the 10th century A.D., wrote Candombudhi, and Karnāṭaka Kādambari. Kēśirāja quotes two verses from his Kādambari:

259 - 1	259 - 2
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9) Ranna

One of the three greatest writers of Kannada literature, Ranna wrote Gadāyuddha and Ajita Purāṇa which are available to us. He is also credited with Paraśurāma Carite and Cakrēśvara Carite which are not available. Kēśirāja quotes the following verses from Gadāyuddha and Ajita Purāṇa :

From Gadāyuddha:

55 - 11	247 - 5	
45 - 1	55 - 6	(reading)
226 - 5	(5 - 18)	219 - 5
71 - 18		226 - 3 (5 - 7)
273 - 8	(4 - 47)	129 - 1 (5 - 20)
100 - 4		106 - 5 (5 - 36)
125 - 3		119 - 2 (10 - 2)

From Ajita Purāṇa:

63 - 9	(2 - 48)	69 - 1	(6 - 27)
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10) Nāgacandra

Nāgacandra, who belongs to 1100 A.D., is known as Abhinava Pampa. He wrote Rāmacandra Carita Purāṇa (Pampa

Rāmāyaṇa) and Mallinātha Purāṇa. The following verses are from Nāgacandra's Rāmāyaṇa.

129 - 4	(9 - 118)	223 - 5	(7 - 98)
223 - 1	(1 - 32)	58 - 8	(9 - 113)
223 - 10	(7 - 98)		

11) Brahmasīva

Brahmasīva, who belonged to 1100 A.D., wrote Samaya Parīkṣe and Trailōkyacūḍāmaṇi Stōtra. R. Narasimhāchar has pointed out²⁸ that example No. 2 of sūtra 76 is from Brahmasīva.

12) Nāgavarma II

Nāgavarma II wrote Kāvyaśālokaṇa, Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhuṣaṇa and Abhidhāna Vastukoṣa. Kēśirāja has followed Nāgavarma to a great extent. S'abdamāṇidarpaṇa is said to be an expanded version of Nāgavarma's S'abdasmṛti Adhikaraṇa, and Kēśirāja's quotations from this work, both in the form of sūtras and in the form of illustrations, corroborate this fact. The following is the list of verses from his Vastukoṣa and Kāvyaśālokaṇa :

From Vastukoṣa :

88 - 1	133 - 2
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From Kāvyaśālokaṇa

119 - 4	238 - 8
200 - 1	198 - 4 (reading)
201 - 2	17 -
58 - 1	137 - 1
58 - 2	198 - 4
229 - 10	70 - 1
228 - 6	58 - 4
63 - 4	172 - 5
97 - 3	231 - 5
229 - 1	246 - 5 (Sūdraka)
74 - 7	17 -
55 - 18	185 - 6 (reading)
115 - 2	194 - 1 (Pampa Bhārata)
55 - 1	208 - 1
106 - 4	191 - 9 (f. n.) Ādipurāṇa
93 - 3	70 - 4

173 - 4 (f. n.)	17 -
198 - 4	100 - 5 (Pampa Bhārata)
58 - 5	192 - 7 (f.n.)
97 - 4	67 - 1
183 - 1	236 - 5
68 - 5	155 - 2
69 - 12	98 - 1
106 - 3	112 - 7 (f.n.)
99 - 6	100 - 6
55 - 7 (Ādipurāṇa)	68 - 6
169 - (Bhuvanaika Rāmābhyudaya)	71 - 1
228 - 2	60 -
92 - 1	202 - 1
120 - 2 (Guṇavarma)	185 - 1
185 - 3	109 - 4 (reading)
139 - 1 (Ādipurāṇa)	244 - 7
174 - 1	87 - 1 (Pampa Bhārata)
63 - 9 (Ajitapurāṇa)	63 - 5
127 - 2	18 - (Kanda)
69 - 1 (Ajitapurāṇa)	237 - 1
114 - 6	98 - 3
11 - 3 (f. n.) (Ādipurāṇa)	22 - 3
236 - 4	198 - 6
210 - 1	71 - 20
68 - 1	109 - 3 (reading)
101 - 1	198 - 3
68 - 2	138 - 6 (f.n.)
183 - 1	118 - 2
186 - 2	108 - 2
11 - 6	57 - 2
70 - 3	110 - 4
67 (after vṛtti 6.)	69 - 4
70 - 6	243 - 12 (Reading)
57 - 6	223 - 4
71 - 6	178 - 3
22 - 2	205 - 1
55 - 2	191 - 1 (reading)
68 - 10	228 - 1
68 - 11	191 - 6 (reading)
68 - 13	101 - 2
192 - 2	119 - 1

58 - 9	71 - 9
189 - 1	136 - for ('Visaya')
108 - 1	13 -
219 - 10	232 - 4
238 - 3	57 - 10
126 - 1	13 - 1 (Ādipurāṇa)
97 - 2	128 - 6 (reading)
232 - 7	219 - 6
121 - 2	245 - 2
248 - 5	71 - 21
208 - 5 (f.n.)	230 - 2
63 - 8 (for sandhi)	895 - 1
77 - 1	193 - 1 (Ādipurāṇa)
216 - 1	194 - 2 (")
126 - 5	128 - 1 (")
69 - 18	238 - 2
237 - 2	189 - 2
173 - 2 (Harivaṃśa Kāvyasāra)	143 - 2 (Pampa Bhārata)
178 - 2	55 - 9
243 - 6	57 - 5
166 - 1	67 - 6
58 - 3	296 - 1
69 - 13	241 - 3
202 - 1	
69 - 3	

13) Nēmicandra

Nēmicandra, who belongs to the 12th century A.D., has written Līlāvati and Nēminātha Purāṇa. The following verses from Līlāvati are found in Śabdamāṇidarpaṇa :

219 - 3	106 - 7
57 - 1	69 - 9

14) Boppaṇa Paṇḍita

He is also known as Sujanoṭṭama and belonged to the latter half of the 12th century A. D. He wrote Nirvāṇalakṣmīpati, Nakṣatra Mālike, Gommaṭa Stuti and Nīti Kandagaḷu. Keśirāja has taken illustrations in three places from him.

98 - 2 137 - 2
100 - 4 110 - 3

15) Janna :

Janna (1209 A. D.) wrote Yaśodhara Carite and Anantanātha Purāṇa. It is said that he wrote a third work, viz., Smaratantra, which is not available. Kēśirāja has taken one verse from his Yaśodhara Carite.

171 - 1 (1 - 52)

16) Mallikārjuna

Kēśirāja's father, Mallikārjuna, compiled an anthology entitled Sūktisudhārṇava. But, unexpectedly, not many verses are quoted from him. In the whole range of numerous illustrations only two are from Sūktisudhārṇava :

254 - 1 231 - 4

17) Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa Inscriptions

From the Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa inscriptions there are two instances quoted in Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa :

58 - 4 163 - 1 (No. 327)

18) Rāmāyaṇa

In addition to the verses mentioned so far, it is said that there are verses²⁹ from some Rāmāyaṇa which are not available. There are eight such verses given by Kēśirāja. The following are the sūtras in which these illustrative verses occur :

116 157
206 194
76 238
194 252

19) Mahābhārata

The Mahābhārata was a great source for Kannada poets. The first available work on poetry is the Bhārata of Pampa. It is not unlikely that there were a few works relating to the Mahābhārata theme prior to Pampa. 62 such verses in 70 sūtras are culled

out³⁰ from various sources for illustrations in Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. The sūtras which contain these verses are :

125	145	111	245
162	249	238	252
21	252	109	256
52	63	232	252
133	222	232	82
249	251	79	248
161	240	191	21
63	256	247	248
163	240	30	83
232	109	252	243
228	78	76	186
162	248	257	250
236	184	74	71
255	108	108	134
191	253	250	63
162	193	235	65
240	124	247	
76	256	174	

This is the vast range of equipment that Kēśirāja possessed. In addition to these, it is quite likely that Kēśirāja might have drawn upon his own works. He wrote Coḷapālaka Carita, Śrī Citramāle, Subhadrāharaṇa, Prabhōdhacandra and Kirāta. Unfortunately, not a single work is available.

The range of Kēśirāja's references is really wide. It is spread over almost 500 years, beginning from the early part of the 9th century (Kavirājā Mārga) and even earlier, to his own time, i.e., the middle of the 13th century. He has consulted more than 20 authors and more than 30 important works excluding his own. Knowing fully well that it is the usages of the great poets that really matter to the grammarian, he has utilised the best works in Kannada literature up to his time. One of the reasons why Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa is widely accepted and appreciated is the abundance of illustrations it contains. He has put in much patient labour, like one endowed with the scientific spirit, and exhaustively quoted from the great works.

One more feature of Kēśirāja is that, unlike other grammarians in Kannada, he has based his rules also on colloquial forms. The dictum, that 'grammarians are fond of usages' is true of Kēśirāja,

great grammarian as he was. For the grammarian, the term 'usage' does not mean only the 'usages' found in books, i.e. literary language, but the usages of the common people, i.e. colloquial forms. Whether Kēśirāja liked such forms or not, he has supplied them abundantly. This, indeed, is characteristic of an objective grammarian and Kēśirāja was certainly one.

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- 4 Bloomfield, *Language*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1935, p. 11.
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- 6 Śrīśa Chandra Vasu (Ed.) *Astādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, Delhi, 1962.
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2

ARRANGEMENT OF TOPICS IN SABDAMANIDARPANA

In Sanskrit grammars there are broadly two systems followed in arranging topics. They are The Kātantra system and The Pāṇini system. The salient features of both these systems have been discussed in the previous chapter. Though, broadly speaking, all grammatical works are put into these two systems, this is not to deny the fact that there may exist minor points of adjustment etc., in various schools of Sanskrit grammar. Hence, all the Sanskrit grammars, to whatever school they may belong, fall under either the Kātantra system or the Pāṇini system, with modifications, deviations etc., to suit their purpose.

The characteristics of the Kātantra system, like those of the Pāṇini system, may have to be studied on two levels:

Use of technical terminology,

Arrangement of subject-matter.

The difference between the Kātantra and the Pāṇiniyan school regarding the use of technical terms has already been shown in the previous chapter. In the arrangement of subject-matter also, the Kātantra system has its own way. The grammatical works which belong to the Kātantra (Aindra) school have a natural arrangement as opposed to the self-devised arrangement found in the Pāṇini school.¹ The natural arrangement of topics in a Kātantra grammar is:

First, there is a topic of phonetics and an elaborate description of the 'varṇas.'

Next, comes the treatment of the nouns, verbal themes (Ākhyāta), 'krit' suffixes, particles (nipāta) etc.

Last, there is a chapter on indeclinables (Avyayas).

All the Kannada grammars have closely followed the Sanskrit grammatical system. Wherever there are points in Kannada structure too obvious to ignore, they find place therein. Added to this, of the four grammars written for the Kannada language, two are written in Sanskrit. These Kannada grammars describe the Sanskrit language structure first, and then note some Kannada features. This is the reason why the scheme of the subject-matter in the Sanskrit grammars has also been given.

Of the four grammars of the Kannada language, the first one, viz., the Śabdasmṛti section of Kāvyaṅvalōkana, as it forms a part of the bigger scheme, does not cover all the topics of grammar. It treats of terminology (i), Euphonic combination (ii), Nouns (iii), Compounds (iv), Derivatives (v) and Verbs (vi). Still, this arrangement of topics is similar to that in Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa.² The arrangement of topics, as also the general treatment of the subject-matter in Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa is closely followed by Kēśirāja in his Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. As R. Narasimhachar³ has observed : (Kāvyaṅvalōkana and Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa) "are the earliest extant Kannada and Sanskrit works on the grammar of the Kannada language and they have been expanded by later grammarians Kēśirāja and Bhaṭṭakaṇka in their monumental works, the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa and the Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana respectively." The last of the four great traditional Kannada grammars, viz., Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana, is slightly different in its arrangement of the subject-matter. It has arranged the subject-matter into four *pādas*. The main subjects dealt with in each 'pāda' are :

The samjñā, definition of technical terms, indeclinables, euphonic combination, and particles;

Gender, words corrupted from Sanskrit, and case-affixes;

Compounds, uses of personal pronouns, numerals, and derivatives; and verbs and verbal affixes.

According to R. Narasimhachar,⁴ the general arrangement in Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana resembles the natural system of the old

Kaumudi simplifications of Pāṇini. But scholars like Dr. A. C. Burnell are of the opinion⁵ that Kannada grammars, chiefly Śabdmaṇidarpaṇa, belong to the Kātantra school of the Aindra system. The three Kannada grammars fall into one group, and the Śabdānuśāsana forms a separate category as far as it relates to the arrangement of the topics. Of the three grammars forming a group, there can be found some differences, but Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa well fits into the Kātantra scheme. That was the reason why Dr. Burnell, while dealing with the Kātantra system and considering the grammars of the regional languages, includes⁶ only Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa among Kannada grammars.

Against this background, let us consider the arrangement of topics in Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. The 337 sūtras are distributed in the following chapters :

Introduction : The subject-matter is introduced and the technical terms are explained;

Euphonic combination (sandhi) : In addition to giving detailed material on phonetics, elaborate rules are framed in respect of the Kannada Sandhi;

Nouns (Nāma) : Definition of noun, various kinds of nouns, their behaviour etc., are given;

Compound (samāsa) : Various kinds of compound constructions taking into account the over-all pattern of the Kannada language including Sanskrit are given;

Derivatives (Taddhita) : Derivatives are enumerated, and the meaning of each derivatives is given;

Verbal themes (Ākhyātas) : Inflectional affixes with all possible varieties of Kannada are discussed;

Roots (Dhātu) : Kannada verbal roots, with their variations in meaning ranging from one to five, are listed;

Corruptions (Apabhraṃśa) : From both Sanskrit and Prākṛit, on the Tatsama and Tadbhava levels are discussed;

Indeclinables (Avyayas) are discussed in detail.

Prayōga sāra : Meanings of uncommon words given in the illustrations are given.

Summary of the Chapters

In the first chapter which is the Introduction, Kāśirāja gives the bio-data and states the purpose of writing Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. There is also a sūtra on phonetics.

The second chapter, viz., 'Euphonic combination', starts with phonetics. Sound and letter are explained. Two forms of the letter audible and visual both are given. Further there is an enumeration of the Kannada alphabet. The method followed here is : to enumerate the Sanskrit alphabet (52), adding the letters which are peculiar to Kannada, and subtracting the letters that are peculiar to Sanskrit (10). Thus, the author establishes 47 letters as the inventory of Kannada 'varṇas'. In the second part of the same chapter, Kāśirāja discusses the Sandhi phenomenon in all its facets. Here, also, he treats, as usual, both Sanskrit and Kannada forms.

In the chapter on Nouns Kāśirāja starts with the definition of the nominal base. Further, he divides the nominal base into four kinds: krit, derivative, compound, and nominal. The noun is divided into three kinds: viz., rūḍha, anvartha and ankita (proper). Then he treats of the pronouns, and after that he refers to 'Samasanskrita'.

While dealing the genders he divides them into nine kinds: masculine, feminine, neuter, masculine-neuter, masculine-feminine, feminine - neuter, masculine - feminine - neuter, viśeṣyadhīna, and indeclinable (avyaya).

In the chapter on roots (Dhātu), Kāśirāja lists the 985 roots of Kannada. He classifies these roots as roots ending in *k*, roots ending in *g*, and so on. He also gives the meaning of each of the roots listed.

The chapter on 'Corruptions' (Apabhraṁśa) enumerates words corrupted from Sanskrit (and Prākṛit). The author explains the changes, giving a number of examples for each. He has exhaustively dealt with the changes in the Sanskrit words while coming into Kannada. He treats the compounds formed from

Sanskrit and Kannada words, including the restrictions, etc. He now goes on to treat the words common to both Sanskrit and Kannada (Tatsama).

The chapter on Indeclinables (Avyaya) lists indeclinable forms like imitative words etc., and gives the suffixes used to form indeclinables out of other forms.

Formal classification - Modern point of view

Language is a system. This system of language is constituted of several sub-systems. The following are the sub-systems that can be found in a language.⁷

The Phonetic system: The sounds that are articulated by human vocal organs and their description.

The Phonological system: The stock of significant sounds that are used in a language under consideration, and the arrangement in which these phonemes (significant sounds) can occur.

The Grammatical system: The stock of morphemes (sequences of phonemes with meaning) and the arrangement in which they occur.

The Morphophonemic system: The code which ties together the grammatical and phonological systems.

The Semantic system: The association of sound combinations, sequences of these sound combinations and their arrangements with things and situations (meaning).

These five sub-systems together constitute a system of language. Study of a language means study of these sub-systems. While studying these sub-systems, we have to take cognisance of the hierarchical structure⁸ found among these sub-systems. That is, for effective analysis of phonemes (phonology), we should have an accurate description of the sounds (phonetics). Similarly, phonology becomes the basis for morphology. It is only when the correct arrangement and sequences of phonemes are established, the study of these sequences with meaning (Morphology) will be accurate. Next, comes the representation of the phonemes in the morphemes (morpho-phonemics). The study of meanings also will be there, though there is no precise instrument yet available to measure the degree of meaning.

The five sub-systems explained so far will be the levels on which language is to be studied and analysed.

This is the method followed in the analysis of a language in modern linguistics. This method will be used in the present analysis. The material treated in *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* will be investigated from the point of view of modern concepts and procedures. Looked at from this point of view, the subject matter dealt in *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* does not appear to be logical in many places. Even from the point of view of traditional analysis, *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* falls short. The evidence for this statement is the scattering of the material. For example, a sūtra on phonetics is found⁹ in the introductory chapter without any connection whatsoever. Much material on phonetics can be seen in the Sandhi chapter. And there too, it is not in order. While treating of the material on phonetics and phonemics, Kāśirāja suddenly brings in the case-suffixes,¹⁰ and then continues with phonetics. Another evidence for this point is: he explains ॥ (ṛaḷa) and ॥ (kuḷa) in sūtra 15 of the Sandhi chapter and illustrates it in subsequent sūtras. When all this is over, once again the treatment of ॥ comes in sūtra 28. This can be explained partly by Kāśirāja's objective in writing his *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*. That is, he is writing a treatise on words (*Śabdaśāstra*).¹¹ And the treatment of sounds, letters etc., is given as an aid to understand that science of words.¹² The implication of this statement is that Kāśirāja is writing a science of words, and, wherever necessary for the understanding of that science, he is treating of other topics. Even here, while treating of other topics incidentally, he could have arranged the matter in a logical sequence. But this is not found in his grammar at places.

In the ensuing chapter, all the grammatical material in *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* is studied on the levels mentioned above. The material on phonetics, culled from different chapters, will be arranged in one place. Similarly, the material on phonemics, scattered in different places will be brought together and analysed. Phonetics and phonemics together constitute the study of phonology. Hence, there will be two sections in the chapter on phonology. Then comes the treatment of morphology with all the allied topics. After morphology, will be dealt the portion on morphophonemics. And with the little material at our disposal, the chapter on syntax will be composed.

On whatever the level we are dealing with *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, Kāśirāja's views on those topics will be first given. This will be done

by way of giving the relevant sūtras in a summary form. Then, the analysis of the same will be presented. This being done, the same material will be treated from the modern linguistic point of view.

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- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 148.
- 9 *SDS* 9.
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- 11 *SDS Vritti on Sūtra*-11.
- 12 *SDS Tatśāstravyavahārajnānārthamāgi* 11.

* * * *

3

PHONOLOGY

Phonetics¹

Phonetics was known to ancient Indians as Shikṣā which formed one of the six lores pertaining to the Vedas (ṣaḍaṅgas of Vedas).² The phonetics of the Vedas can be seen in the Shikṣās, since sikṣā was a separate science in ancient India. Grammar did not deal with this aspect in detail. Phonetics, therefore, has received limited attention in Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa.

Keṣirāja starts with the origin of sound, about which he says: 'Due to favourable air, and at the will of the individual, the substance of sound originates at the root of the navel, as in a trumpet. Its colour is white'.³ In this sūtra, the process of the origin of sound is given. The air flows through a column; and, because of obstruction to the air-column, sound is produced. According to Kēṣirāja, the air starts from the root of the navel. This view is based, not just on the importance of the navel in our body, but because it is a fact. There is an organ called diaphragm below the lungs and just above the navel, bow-shaped, from where the air originates. From diaphragm the air comes through the lungs to the lips and beyond for our respiration. This air is used for the production of sound when the individual desires to produce it. Sounds are of two types: explosives and implosives. These varieties are found in stops only. If the sounds produced are the results of exhaling, they are called explosives. Those produced by inhaling are implosives.⁴ Kannada sounds are produced only in the process of expelling the air out of the lungs. Kēṣirāja uses the term 'jīvaniṣṭādim' in this context. The air coming from the diaphragm becomes sound when the individual so desires. There are many impediments in the process. It is an observed fact that speech sound cannot be produced if the relevant organs are defective. Kēṣirāja, therefore, says there

should be favourable air for producing sound. Being a poet, he gives a fine simile here. The sound is like a trumpetblow. The trumpet and air both make sound. But the simile does not stop here. The trumpet is narrow at the root, and wide at the end. The same is the phenomenon observed in the air that produces speech sound. According to Kēśirāja, sound is a substance, and its colour white. Though these matters are philosophical and quasi-philosophical, since Kēśirāja repeats them twice, they cannot be ignored. In Jainism, Saraswati is known as Dhavalā (white). Saraswati is the goddess of language. Hence, words which constitute language are considered white, and the sound material which is responsible for words also came to be known as white.⁵ The sūtra in question says that the birth of the sound matter (śabda-dravya), is due to 'pavana' and 'jīva (soul)'s 'iṣṭa' (desire) and the 'śabda-dravya' is the result, while its function is the audibility or sound manifestation.

The next sūtra on phonetics is: The body is a drum; and the tongue, an instrument to beat. The individual soul is the performer. On account of the operation of his mind, sound is produced. It is white in colour and has the form of sound.⁶ The points of articulation, the articulator, and the motivation of sound are suggested here metaphorically. But here the body should mean a portion of the body, from the diaphragm to the lips only. The drum itself cannot produce any sound in the absence of some instrument to beat it. Here, the tongue is the instrument, which, in league with the point, is responsible for the production of sound. Technically, the instrument is called an articulator.⁷ The organs responsible for the production of sound are termed speech-organs. Kēśirāja mentions the tongue as the instrument for the production of sound. But it is not the only articulator. It is the chief articulator that is responsible for the production of the majority of sounds. The tongue as an articulator is divided⁸ into four parts: dorsum, or the back of the tongue; the centre of the tongue; the blade of the tongue and the tip of the tongue. There is a lower-lip⁹ which is also an articulator and is responsible for the production of some sounds.

Granting that every organ is perfect, still, as already stated, the motivation is equally important. Only when an individual so desires, will the various organs be effective in the production of sound.

This sound has the form of 'varṇa'. We will discuss the form of the 'varṇa' while dealing with phonemics.

In the next sūtra, the various points of articulation are listed: The throat, the root of the tongue, the chest, the palate, the lips, the nose, the head and the teeth are the eight places where the varṇas are produced.¹⁰ Akṣara is used as the synonym of śabda, which is here translated as sound. The term akṣara is variously used to signify sound¹¹ and syllable.¹² To understand and evaluate this sūtra, the whole phenomenon of the production of sounds is to be reviewed. For the production of sound, the air coming from the lungs and going to the lips and beyond, is obstructed. Unless there is some kind of obstruction to the air-passage, no sound can be produced. The channel through which the air passes is called the speech-tract. The air that passes through the speech-tract meets with obstruction, not in one place, but in many. Such places obstructing the air passage to produce sound, are called points of articulation.¹³ Various organs responsible for the production of sound are situated on the lower and upper sides of the speech-tract. The organs situated on the lower-margin are articulators.¹⁴ These organs are immovable. The organs which are on the upper margin of the speech-tract are termed points of articulation.¹⁵ These are immovable. The point of articulation and the articulator together constitute the position of articulation.¹⁶ The various organs which play their part in the production of speech-sounds are:

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Nasal cavity | 8 Lips (lower and upper) |
| 2 Teeth | 9 Alveolar ridge |
| 3 Palate | 10 Dome |
| 4 Velum | 11 Uvula |
| 5 Tongue | 12 Velic |
| 6 Epiglottis | 13 Vocal cords |
| 7 Larynx | 14 Pharynx |

Among the organs listed, the following are the points of articulation:

- | | |
|------------------|---------------|
| 1 Upper lip | 6 Teeth |
| 2 Alveolar ridge | 7 Soft palate |
| 3 Hard palate | 8 Velum |
| 4 Uvula | 9 Epiglottis |
| 5 Larynx | 10 Pharynx |

The articulators are :

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Lower lip | 4 Tip of the tongue |
| 2 Blade of the tongue | 5 Centre of the tongue |
| 3 Back of the tongue | |

In addition to the points of articulation and the articulators, there is a third factor that contributes to the production of sounds. That is the manner of articulation. The procedure of obstruction of the air coming from the lungs at various points from the vocal cords to the lips is called Manner. Manner will be responsible for many a variation of sounds. Usually, each sound is given a name, based on the position of articulation and the articulator. The resultant sound and an example in Kannada are given below :

Articulator	Point of articulation	Sound	Example
Lower lip	Upper lip	Labial	p class
Lower lip	Teeth	Labio-dental	
Tip of the tongue	Teeth	Dental	t class, ¹⁷ l
-do-	Alveolum	Alveolar	s, r
-do-	Palate	Retroflex	ṭ class, ḷ; ḷ
Blade of the tongue	hard palate	Palatal	c class
Back of the tongue	velum	Velar	k class
—	—	Glottal	h

There are many classes of sound for which manner is responsible which are as follows :

Stops

Stops are sounds involving complete closure of the air column at some point of articulation by some articulator. All the classified sounds of Kannada are stops.

Nasals

The position being the same as for the stops, the passage of the nasal cavity is open. When the air passes through the nasal cavity the resultant sounds are nasal stops or nasals. m, n, ṇ, ṅ, ŋ are the nasal sounds in Kannada.

Fricatives

Instead of the partial closing of the air passage, there is a narrow constriction due to which there is friction¹⁸. Sound produced with this friction is a fricative. Kannadas is a fricative sound.

Laterals

If the air coming from the lungs is obstructed at a certain point, but is allowed to pass through one or both sides of the tongue, the sounds produced are called laterals. l, ḷ sounds of Kannada are lateral sounds.

Trills

Trills are sounds caused by the rapid vibration of the articulator. ḷ is an example for trill.

Flaps

If there is a single tap by the articulator, a flap is produced. Kannada r is a flap.

Affricates

The procedures of both stops and fricatives are seen here. They start with a stop procedure and end in a fricative procedure. c, j are usually affricates.

Semi-vowels

Semi-vowels are in between fricative sounds and closed vowels. Examples are w and y. The other avargīya sounds also have a vocalic quality, but they are consonantal.

Similarly, there are vowels. Points of articulation are not very important for vowels. The articulator, however, is very important here. The main factors in the classification of the vowel are as follows:¹⁹ *Height of the tongue*: i, e, etc., (in all seven) are sounds caused by the variation in the height of the tongue. Varieties are high, lower high, etc. *Advancement of the tongue*: depending upon which part of the tongue (front, central or back) is in action, there will be three varieties: i, e, etc., are front sounds, ə (as in the kōri - black) is a central sound; and u, o, etc., are back sounds.

Vocal cords are responsible for many a variation in sounds. If while passing the air, the vocal cords vibrate, the 'voice' is produced. Sounds accompanied by voice are 'voiced' sounds (e. g., b, d, j, g, etc.) If, while producing a sound, the vocal cords are silent, the sounds will be voiceless (e.g., p, t, c, k, etc.). If there is an extra puff of air while producing the sound, it will be called an aspirated sound (e.g., ph, ṭh, bh, dh etc.). If there is no such extra puff of air, the sound is called unaspirated (e.g., p, t, b, d, etc.)

Against this background, let us consider the points of articulation given by Kēśirāja. Velum (Kaṇṭha), root of the tongue (jihvāmūla), chest (ura), palate (tālu), lips (ōṣṭha), nose (nāsika), head (sira) and teeth (danta) are the points of articulation listed by him. Of these eight, the root of the tongue is also an articulator, like the centre and tip of the tongue. The nose need not be listed in the points. It is true that nasal sounds are produced in the nasal cavity; still, the points of articulation are in the mouth. About the chest, its role is important while producing sounds. In general, when the sound h is produced, probably Kēśirāja meant that the chest plays a role in articulating it.

The idea of co-articulation is enunciated in the following sūtra: The letters y, v and l are called nasals as well as non-nasals.²⁰ The sounds y, v and l are pronounced in two ways: 1) without nasality, and 2) with nasality. Here, the idea of co-articulation is expressed. If a sound is produced in one position of articulation, it belongs to a single or primary articulation. In addition to one articulation, there may be more than one articulation combined in a particular sound. Such a phenomenon is called double-articulation or co-articulation.²¹ The ordinary y, v, and l, without any nasal feature belong to the primary articulation, and when the nasality is added to them, co-articulated sounds are produced.

The phenomenon of free-variation is found in the gloss on sūtra 39. "The r of 'maral' also changes to ṛ thus being 'maṛal'. The word 'maṛal' is also pronounced as 'maral'. The point to be noted is that, whether there is r or ṛ in the word, there is no change in the meaning. If two sounds freely vary in a word without affecting the meaning, it is called free-variation.²²

Phonemics

"Akṣara", 'varṇa' and 'śuddhākṣara' are synonymous. Those that can be written but cannot be pronounced are 'varṇas'." For

example, the sounds of the clouds etc. are not 'varṇas'.²³ There is a difference in explanation of this sūtra even in Kēśirāja's gloss itself. Whereas the sūtra reads 'barepambokkuccharisalbāraduvakkaramaltu' etc. The vritti reads 'bareyalumuccharisalbāraduvu' etc. The purport is that those that cannot be written nor pronounced are 'akṣaras'. In this sūtra, Kēśirāja considered akṣara, varṇa and śuddhākṣara as synonyms, though in different places he has used them in different senses.

There is an extensive treatment of these terms in Sanskrit grammars. The interpretation of 'varṇa' in Sanskrit grammars is problematic. Generally, it means sound-unit.²⁴ But 'akṣara' means syllable. Though Kēśirāja has stated in this sūtra that 'akṣara' and 'varṇa' are synonyms, it appears that he is aware of the distinction between 'akṣara' and 'varṇa', though not clear enough to define the terms in Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa.

What is 'śuddhākṣara'? What is the meaning of 'śuddha' here? One view of 'śuddhākṣara' is that it is a non-nasal sound,²⁵ and, perhaps, that is the meaning intended here.²⁶ 'Śuddhākṣara' and 'śuddhage', according to Kēśirāja, seems to be the basic sound unit, because he says there are 47 śuddhage in Kannada.

The modern definition of the syllable is—'a principal phonological term for grouping of consonants and vowels with the status of a unit.'²⁷ It is the attachment of the consonants to the vocalic nuclei. Every syllable consists of one peak of sonority and the vowel is that peak. Hence, either a vowel alone, or a vowel with a consonant, constitutes a syllable.²⁸ Then how does this 'akṣara' which is a unit with a vowel and consonant, come to be considered as a synonym for a 'varṇa'? First, as the vowel is the nucleus of the syllable, there are as many syllables as there are vowels, so much so that the 'akṣara' itself was confused with the vowel. Second, the orthography of Kannada is a mixture of phonemic and syllabic systems. Basically, it is a phonemic system,²⁹ where every sound is given a symbol. So, all the letters from a to ṣ have symbols based on the sounds. But, in the 'kāguṇita'—combination of consonants and vowels (e.g., ka, kā, ki, etc.)—also each unit has its symbol. In actual usage, it is these combinations that are more in number. These combinations are syllables, and each syllable has a symbol in such a system. Hence the syllable was mistaken for the basic unit. As 'varṇa' is a basic unit in writing, and the syllable was wrongly assigned the same function, partly they are considered as synonyms. 'Akṣara' is also used in the sense of a syllable, by Kēśirāja himself.³⁰

To understand the concept of 'varṇa' in the sūtra, we have to understand the modern concept of phoneme. To begin with, the phoneme has two characteristics.³¹

Phonemes form part of the system of one specific language and they are the features of the structure of a particular language. Hence, different languages have different phonemes.

Phonemes are features of a spoken language. That is, they are units of the spoken language, as opposed to the written language, which has its own unit, viz., the grapheme. This feature is important for our purpose, because we are studying a written work.

The phoneme is the minimal unit of expression, the function of which is to keep two utterances apart.³² If we take two words 'kuḍi' and 'guḍi', we can observe that each word has four units viz., k, u, ḍ, i and g, u, ḍ, i. Of these, three units are the same for both words, and in one place there is a difference. In 'kuḍi' there is k, and in 'guḍi' it is g. Because of the difference of these sounds, two words are created. Hence, we can say that the sounds k and g have each a significant behaviour, and so are distinct phonemes.

Another definition of the phoneme is that it is a class of sounds. The phoneme is not just one sound, but a bundle of many sounds. For example, take three words, 'kivi', 'kaṇṇu', and 'kuḍi'. The sound k in these words, though appearing to be the same, is different in each word. *k* in 'kivi' is slightly fronted (pre-velar), *k* in 'kuḍi' is slightly back (post-velar), and *k* in 'kaṇṇu' is between the two (medio-velar). But, while phonemicising, we take only *k*, and consider others as the positional variants. Hence, the phoneme /k/ here is a bundle of three sounds.

There are also more important sounds which contribute to make a phoneme. Consider the nasal sounds of Kannada, *n*, *ṇ* and *ṇ̃*. It can be observed that all three sounds occur in a particular context of their own. If the sounds have a definite environment, they are not important. Here, *n* occurs before dental stops, *ṇ* before palatal stops and *ṇ̃* before velar stops. That means, each of these sounds has its own environment, exclusively its own. One sound will never occur where the other occurs. Such a phenomenon is called mutually exclusive environment, or complementary distribution. In such a case, one of these sounds which is more widely used, may be taken as the representative of the class, and the rest may be considered sub-

members. Here /n/ is the phoneme and *n*, *ṇ* and *ṇ̃* are its sub-members. The purport of this is: though we write /n/ a phoneme in the place of *ṇ* and *ṇ̃* sounds, still the pronunciation will be as required. The difference between 'varṇa' and phoneme can be attempted. As shown above, *n*, *ṇ* and *ṇ̃* are 'varṇas' and *n* is a phoneme.

The discussion of the phoneme so far leads us to conclude that sound is the basic material for language. The language is the combination of sounds with meaning. But sound is produced by many bodies. If the table is hit, a particular sound is produced; the rustling of trees produces a sound; similarly the cloud produces sound. But all these are not germane to language. Only those sounds which are produced by the human vocal organs pertain to language. There, too, the sounds of coughing, sneezing etc. are out of question. Excepting these, all sounds produced by the human organs are important. Hence, the rustling of trees, the sound of clouds etc., are not 'varṇas'. The definition of 'varṇa' given in the sūtra is of a negative nature. It says what are not 'varṇas,' rather than what 'varṇas' are.

Incidentally, a question may be asked here: whether Kāśirāja had any idea about something like the phoneme? The question may appear out of place, as the concept of phoneme is a modern one and Kāśirāja belongs to an ancient time. How could he know a concept of the present times?

In every science, there are certain concepts, processes etc., to explain the science. Grammar, which was a much respected science in ancient India, had its own concepts and processes. As knowledge advances, some of the old concepts and processes may be reinterpreted or some times new ones may be stated.

A notable feature of our ancient grammar including the grammar of Pāṇini is that they do not state and explain the processes that are responsible for particular results. Kāśirāja is no exception to this. In this situation, what is left for us is to guess the processes on the basis of the results. Let us try this with regard to the phoneme.

Kāśirāja, in sūtra 28 says "If 'r' is pronounced with more force 'ṛ' is produced: 'ḍ' pronounced with more force gives rise to 'ḷ' of Kannada, known as 'kuḷa.' . . ."

more	more	mare	mare
kale	kaḷe	mole	moḷe

In setting up phonemes, the most important step is the minimal pair. If there is a minimum of contrast between two words, we say it is minimal pair. The two sounds which contrast in that pair, are two phonemes. The examples given above, viz., 'kuḍi' and 'guḍi', constitute a minimal pair, and the sounds *k* and *g* are phonemes. What about more – more, mole – moḷe, etc.,? Are they not minimal pairs? Kēśirāja gives these examples to prove that *r an ṛ* and *l* and *ḷ* are separate 'varṇas'. Examples given for this point are perfect minimal pairs. It appears, on the basis of the above, that some idea (though crude) about the phoneme was known to Kēśirāja.

"The letter has sound and form. When it is heard, it is called 'Śrāvaṇa'. When the letter is seen in its different forms, it is known as 'Cākṣuṣa'."³³ The sound has two forms. That which is of the form of sound and is the subject of the ear, is called auditory (śrāvaṇa). Visual (cākṣuṣa) is that sound which owing to the difference of orthography, is of many forms. This view is prevalent from ancient times. The auditory aspect of sound has, ordinarily, the same form. This is not to deny the difference in the pronunciation of the same sound. If different persons pronounce the same word, there is difference in the pronunciation of a sound in the word. Even if a single individual pronounces a particular sound many times, there is variation. But, for persons who are concentrating on the importance of the statement, and not the sound of it, the difference is not noticeable. The sound therefore appears to be the same. Hence the auditory aspect of the sound is to have only one form.

But with the visual aspect of the sound the case is different. We have a particular symbol for a particular sound. It applies only to languages having a writing system. Ancient grammarians considered only languages which are written. The various symbols for sounds used in a particular language constitute the orthographic system of that language. As sounds of different languages are different, the written symbols also are different. The symbol for a particular sound in Kannada is ಅ, in Hindi अ, in English a. Therefore the visual aspect of the sound is of various forms.

In the next sūtra, the sounds in the orthography are given: "The order of the 'varṇas' is well-known. The 'varṇas' are from a to ḷ."³⁴ The order of the 'varṇas' in the inventory which is known to everybody, is of Sanskrit, though it is not stated so. He gives the following order of the alphabet:

a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	ṛī	ḷ	ḷī	ē	ai	ō	au
k		kh		g		gh		ṅ					
c		ch		j		jh		ñ					
ṭ		ṭh		ḍ		ḍh		ṇ					
t		th		d		dh		n					
p		ph		b		bh		m					
y		r		l		w							
ś		ṣ		s		h		ḷ					

These letters are classified into five categories: "All the letters are divided into five kinds, viz., vowels, classified sounds, unclassified sounds, 'yōgavāha' sounds and 'dēśīya' sounds (indigenous to Kannada language)."³⁵

Kēśirāja has classified the 'varṇas' in the Kannada alphabet into vowels, classified sounds, unclassified sounds, 'yōgavāhas' and sounds indigenous to Kannada.

The whole range of sounds may be divided into vowels and consonants; among the consonants classified consonants and unclassified consonants. Yōgavāhas, too, are included in the alphabet. Both vowels and consonants are seen amongst indigenous sounds.

The meaning of 'svara' (vowel) and 'vyanjana' (consonant) may be considered. According to ancient Sanskrit grammarians, 'svara' is an independent entity but 'vyanjana' is dependent.³⁶ It is really difficult to decide the nature of 'svara' and 'vyanjana.' According to Patanjali,³⁷ 'svara' is 'sva-ra' – 'self-ruling.' That is, it has an independent existence. Uvata derives the word 'vyanjana' from 'vi-anj-' 'to manifest', and explains that consonants are so called because 'they manifest the meanings'.³⁸ But, we cannot say that consonants have no existence at all. The time specified by our grammarians for the pronunciation of a vowel and a consonant proves their existence. For the pronunciation of a vowel one mora is required, while for the pronunciation of the consonant half a mora is sufficient. Usually, the vowel forms the nucleus of the syllable. But even a consonant, if pronounced with sufficient prominence, may become an independent syllable, as the basis of the syllable is prominence. e.g., ṛ, ṛī, ḷ, ḷī of Sanskrit. This means that the consonant is not absolutely dependent on the vowel, according to Indian grammarians. Yet, "consonants are like pearls in a necklace, but the thread which supports them is the vowels."³⁹

Let us consider the modern linguistic concept of vowel and consonant. Generally, the vowel is used as an equivalent of the 'svara', and the consonant, of the 'vyanjana'. The definition of a vowel according to the modern concept is: "Vowels are modifications of voice-sound that involve no closure, friction or contact of the tongue or lips."⁴⁰ The definition of the consonant is: "The consonant is a sound for whose production the air-current is completely stopped by an occlusion of the larynx or the oral passage, or is forced to squeeze through a narrow constriction, or is deflected from the median line of its channel through a lateral opening or causes one of the supra-glottal organs to vibrate."⁴¹

In short, the sound which is produced without any obstruction to the air current is a vowel: where there is obstruction anywhere in the mouth, the resultant sound is called consonant.

As to whether vowel and consonant are equivalents of 'svara' and 'vyanjana', Dr. Siddhesvara Varma says:⁴² "It seems to me probable that the Indian terms 'svara' and 'vyanjana' did not exactly correspond to the vowel and consonant of modern phonetics. The Indian term may have denoted a syllabic sound and non-syllabic sound respectively. For the essential difference between 'svara' and 'vyanjana' lay in their relative dependence. The 'svara' was said to be self-dependent. While the 'vyanjana' (literal meaning manifested by another accessory) was dependent upon the 'svara'."

This point is realized by modern linguistics also. Hence, at least, some scholars do not use the terms vowel and consonant, but use vocoids and contoids instead. Sounds which are vowel-like are vocoids, and those which are consonant-like are contoids.⁴³ But, the terms vocoids and contoids are used on a phonetic level, vowel and consonant on a phonemic level.⁴⁴ Any vowel or consonant which can become a syllable is a vocoid, and the others are contoids.⁴⁵ That means that we can use the terms vowel and consonant as equivalents of 'svara' and 'vyanjana' in this section where we are dealing with the phonemics of Kannada.

Consonants are, divided into classified (vargīya) and unclassified (avargīya) types. In the classified category, there are twentyfive consonants beginning with k and ending in m of our alphabet. What is the basis for such a classification? A point that can be observed at the outset, about classified letters, is that they are all stops, including the nasal stops. All these stops have a well-defined principle of classification. There are two such principles, which are points of

articulation and manner of articulation. According to the first principle, viz., points of articulation, there are five points of articulation involved in these consonants. They are velum, palate, top of the oral cavity, teeth, and lips. Accordingly, there will be velar, palatal, retroflex, dental and labial sounds. Each of these categories has five consonants:

velar :	k	kh	g	gh	ṅ
palatal :	c	ch	j	jh	ñ
retroflex :	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ
dental :	t	th	d	dh	n
labial :	p	ph	b	bh	m

The second principle, viz., the manner of articulation, is responsible for the voiced, aspirated and nasal varieties. These consonants are arranged from top to bottom, on the basis of the points of articulation and from left to right, they are arranged on the basis of the manner of articulation. In each case there are five members. A well-defined classification is found for these consonants. Therefore, they can be termed as classified consonants. Usually, the first member of each class represents the whole class; for example 'k-varga' which represents k, kh, g, gh, ṅ and so on.

As against these classified sounds, no such arrangement is seen in the nine consonants listed as unclassified (avargīya) types. Among the nine consonants, many categories can be seen. y and w are semi-vowels, r is a trill, l and ḷ are laterals, ś, ṣ and s are fricatives, and h is a glottal fricative. These cannot be arranged in a systematic way, like the classified letters. Even modern linguists have termed the sounds as left-overs.⁴⁶

'Yōgavāhas' are called dependent sounds.⁴⁷ These 'yōgavāhas' are not included in the inventory of letters by Pāṇini. These four dependent sounds have a very limited occurrence. In Sanskrit works five 'yōgavāha' sounds are listed. They are -ḥ visarga, -o anusvāra, -x jivhāmūlīya, -ḥ upadhmānīya and the faucal plosives (yama). But not all the Sanskrit grammarians agree with the terminology. While some use 'yōgavāha', others like Pāṇini use the term 'ayōgavāha'. 'Ayōgavāha' literally means drawing unyoked. Patanjali explains the term: "Because they draw unyoked, i.e., are heard though not mentioned (i.e., though not included in the Pāṇiniyan 'varṇasamānāya')"⁴⁸. It is the Kannada grammarians who used the

term 'Yōgavāha', and appropriately so, instead of 'ayōgavāha'.⁴⁹ All these dependent sounds share the place of articulation of the sounds where on they depend.

Kēśirāja refers to the letters peculiar to Kannada language. It may appear strange that, when he is writing a Kannada grammar, he should have talked of some letters as peculiar to Kannada. The reason is that the framework of his alphabetical system is taken from Sanskrit. He lists the Sanskrit letters of the alphabet and adds to the list, the letters peculiar to the Kannada language. Such letters are five in number and they are ṛ, ḷ, ḹ, e, o.

After the classification of sounds, Kēśirāja gives details of them in a sūtra: "There are fourteen vowels, twentyfive classified letters, nine unclassified letters and four dependent letters in the alphabet. Thus the total letters come to fiftytwo".

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In the previous sūtra, Kēśirāja has classified sounds into five kinds. Now, he enumerates the various letters in each of the five kinds. The list presented in a tabular form is as follows:

Vowels	14
Classified letters	25
Unclassified letters	9
'Yōgavāhas'	4
	—
	52

After the classification of sounds, Kēśirāja lists the 'varṇas' of the Kannada language in the following sūtra: "There are five 'dēśiya' sounds in Kannada. These five, along with the previously mentioned fiftytwo, come to fiftyseven sounds. Out of these sounds, the ten sounds ṛi, ṛī, ḷi, ḷī, ś, ṣ, ḥ (visarga), x (jihvāmūlīya), φ (upadhmānīya), and ḷ (kṣaḷa) are not found in Kannada. When these are deducted, we get fortyseven sounds found in Kannada."

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The sounds given in the sūtra are tabulated as follows:

Vowels	14
Classified consonants	25
Unclassified consonants	9

'Yōgavāhas'	4
Five sounds peculiar to Kannada	5
	—
	57
Ten letters peculiar to Sanskrit	— 10
	—
Total	47

The fourteen vowels are:

a ā i ī u ū ṛi ṛī ḷi ḷī ē ai o au.

The twentyfive classified consonants are:

k	kh	g	gh	ṅ
c	ch	j	jh	ñ
ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ
t	th	d	dh	n
p	ph	b	bh	m

The nine unclassified consonants are:

y, r, l, w, ś, ṣ, s, h, ḷ.

The four 'Yōgavāhas' are:

O (anusvāra), ḥ (visarga), x (jihvāmūlīya), φ (upadhmānīya).

The five sounds peculiar to Kannada are:

ṛ, ḷ, ḹ, e, o.

The ten sounds peculiar to Sanskrit are:

ṛi, ṛī, ḷi, ḷī, ś, ṣ, ḥ, x, φ, ḷ (kṣaḷa)

Thus, fortyseven is the inventory of Kannada 'varṇas' according to the sūtras. Kēśirāja has followed a very cumbersome method in listing the Kannada 'varṇas'. He mentions fiftytwo 'varṇas' as common to Sanskrit and Kannada; he adds five 'varṇas' which are exclusive to the Kannada structure; and finally he deducts ten sounds found only in Sanskrit. Normally, he would have said that there are fortyseven sounds for Kannada and listed them. He was forced to do this gymnastics because he had started with the Sanskrit system instead of Kannada.

In this sūtra and the previously mentioned one, Kēśirāja mentions five sounds as peculiar to Kannada. Among these, there are two vowels, viz., e and o. He has to mention these separately, as the list

given is of Sanskrit, where there is only the long variety, whereas in Kannada both short (e, o) and long (ē, ō) varieties are found.

Details about these vowels and ṛ, ṝ, ṝ̄ will be given in due course while dealing with vowels and consonants. Among the ten sounds peculiar to Sanskrit but not found in Kannada, four are vowels, viz., ṛ, ṝ, ṝ̄ and ṝ̄̄ and six are consonants, ś, ṣ, ṣ̄, x, φ, and ʃ (kṣaṇa). About the four vowels, it can be said that ṝ̄̄ and ṝ̄̄̄ are never found in any word whether in modern or old Kannada. Hence, there is no question of their being used in modern Kannada. About ṝ̄̄̄, it has never been seen in any Kannada word. But the case of ṝ̄̄̄ is slightly different. There are many words which contain ṝ̄̄̄. For example, ṝ̄̄̄ appears in words like ṝ̄̄̄, ṝ̄̄̄, ṝ̄̄̄ etc. There is no doubt of ṝ̄̄̄ being there in Sanskrit words. But these words in Kannada have a different pronunciation, rutu, ruṇa, ruta etc. That is, where the Sanskrit ṝ̄̄̄ is a vocalic consonant with a high unrounded central vowel-like pronunciation at the end, in Kannada, it is clearly a consonant plus a vowel. This vowel may be sometimes i (high front unrounded) and sometimes u (high back rounded). For example, along the words, ruṣi, ruṇa, rutu etc., words like riṣi, riṇa, ritu etc. are also found. Whatever the vowel, the pronunciation of ṝ̄̄̄ in Kannada is r plus vowel. Hence, this vowel too is not necessary for Kannada.⁵⁰

The letters ś and ṣ are peculiar to Sanskrit, and they are not found in Kannada. The letter ś is not found in other Dravidian languages also. This is however noticeable in words corrupted from Sanskrit. Where in Sanskrit there is ś, Kannada has s⁵¹.

Examples :

Śasi (Skt)	Sasi (Kan),	Śanke (Skt)	Sanke (Kan)
Kalaśam (Skt)	Kaḷasam (Kan),	Sūlam (Skt)	Sūlam (Kan)

ṣ is much rarer. It is not found in any of the Dravidian languages. No grammarian of Kannada has included it in the Kannada alphabet. Like ś, ṣ too has been proved to be absent from Kannada. Kēśirāja states that for Sanskrit ṣ there is s in Kannada.⁵²

Examples:

bhāṣe (Skt)	bāse (Kan)
vēṣam (Skt)	vēsam (Kan)
viṣam (Skt)	viṣam (Kan)
varṣam (Skt)	varisam (Kan) ⁵³

As Kēśirāja has clearly excluded the visarga, the jihvāmūlīya and the upadhmāṇīya from his list, we too can easily omit them. All these occur only in Sanskrit words.

Examples:

Rāmaḥ	(visarga)
Prātaḥkāla	(jihvāmūlīya)
Payaḥpānaḥ	(upadhmāṇīya)

About kṣaṇa, we shall deal exhaustively when dealing with the consonants.

VOWELS

After giving all the sounds, their division etc., Kēśirāja starts with the treatment of vowels. The sūtra is: "There are fourteen vowels beginning with a. The first ten vowels are monophthongs (samānam) of which each pair is of the same class – a homogen – (savarṇam), irrespective of the order."

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The sounds from a to au are called vowels. Among these, the first ten, viz., a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, ṝ, ṝ̄, ṝ̄̄ are called monophthongs (samānam). Again, among these ten monophthongal vowels, the units of two serially (e.g., a, ā and so on), whether they are read according to the regular or reverse order (e.g., a, ā or ā, a and so on) are termed homogens (savarṇa).

After the plain listing of the vowels, Kēśirāja has in this sūtra made some technical jugglery. But it is not going to add anything. The two technical terms used are 'samāna' and 'savarṇa'. These terms are taken from the Kātantra grammar.⁵⁴ Similarly, he has used terms, which are 'anulōma' (regular order) and 'vilōma' (reverse order). It is difficult to say why Kēśirāja has used them. The possible explanation is as he is following the Kātantra grammar closely, he has used the terms found in it without considering their viability for Kannada language.

The same idea is continued in the next sūtra: "Among the pairs, if a short vowel is followed by a short vowel, and a long vowel is followed by a long vowel, a homogen results."

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There are five pairs of these homogens whether you read a short vowel after a short vowel, or a long vowel after a long vowel. In continuation with the idea in the previous sūtra, viz., of a regular and a reverse order, in this sūtra, he states that a homogen can consist of two short vowels or two long vowels, for example, short vowels like a a or two long vowels ā ā.

So far, Kēśirāja has listed the vowels, from a to ṛī, as 'savarṇas'. In the next sūtra, he states that e, ē and o, ō also are homogens. "The vowels e ē, o ō are inherent in Kannada. They again are homogens and are technically called 'varṇas.'" Kēśirāja's note on this sūtra is, "The pair of letters e ē, o ō are not only used as particles (nipāta) to express doubt (viśankā) and emphasis (avadhāraṇa), but are also found to be inherent in Kannada (For these letters also the term 'savarṇa' is possible). In grammar 'savarṇa' is called varṇa."

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Examples :

ele (leaf)	ēri (a raised bank)
elavam (silk-cotton tree)	ētam (a picotter)
okkal (a tenant)	ōtam (reading)
oregal (a touchstone)	ōrage (equality)

So far, Kēśirāja has dealt with the Sanskrit alphabets. Now he turns to the Kannada letters. The letters e ē and o ō are natural to Kannada. So far he has listed only ē and ō among the vowels which are found only in Sanskrit. But now he gives their short counterparts e and o. He has noticed that both these vowels form words in Kannada. The examples given here like ele, ēri are to show that short and long vowels have distinct occurrences in Kannada. They can be given the status of 'varṇa.' We have already described the method of establishing phonemes on the basis of minimal pairs. These are not minimal pairs and not even sub-minimal pairs. However the minimal pairs are not necessary anyway. He has listed e and o in a separate sūtra, because other vowels found in the Sanskrit alphabets are also found in Kannada. Hence, there is no necessity of listing them. Since the Sanskrit alphabet did not contain the short variety e and o, Kēśirāja did not list them in Kannada.

Kēśirāja has used, though not very precisely, 'varṇa' as an equivalent of 'savarṇa'. What he says is that 'varṇa' (varṇavemba saṁdne) can be there (odavugum) as equivalent of 'savarṇa'

(savarṇavemba saṁdneyalliyum). Usually, we say a-kāra, i-kāra etc. But in the place of 'kāra' the term 'varṇa' is not used here. If the terms a-varṇa, i-varṇa etc. are used, they imply a, ā and i, ī (savarṇa). Of course, such a phenomenon can be seen in a limited environment.

In the next sūtra, the idea of short and long vowels is clarified. "The preceding letters of the monophthongs (samāna) are short and the following letters are long. The vowels except a, ā are called 'nāmis'."

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The vowels which are called samāna (monophthongs) are ten. They are: ā, i, u, ṛ, ṛī, ṛi, ṛī. The first letter of each of these ten is called a short vowel. But according to Kēśirāja's delineation, there is no regular order for these 'samānas', either may come first (a, ā) or last (ā, a). Hence, there is no order specifying the short vowel as the first member of the 'samāna'. Instead, we can take five pairs of these ten 'samānas'. Thus it will be all right to take the first member as the short vowel. Then there will be five short vowels viz., a, i, u, ṛ, ṛi and five long ones, ā, ī, ū, ṛī, ṛī.

Similar is the situation with e and o (ē ō embuvumī teradoḷ vartisuvuvu – gloss). The first is short (e and o) and the second, long (ē and ō). Why, in the sūtra, Kēśirāja has included only ten homogens, leaving out these four? Is it because he wants to maintain the chastity of the system (of course, Sanskrit) and considers e and o as additions?

Another technical term is introduced which does not serve any purpose. It is nāmi. All the vowels excepting a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, ṛī, ṛi, ṛī, ē, ai, ō, and au are nāmis.

In the next sūtra, he refers to the remaining vowels: "Diphthongs like ē are by their nature 'guru' and long. The short letter has a single 'mātra', the long letter has double 'mātra' and a 'pluta' has three 'mātras.'" The diphthongs ē, ai, ō, and au are by their nature 'guru' and long. The time required for pronouncing each vowel is given. The diphthongs mentioned are those found in Sanskrit. a+i yields ē; a+ē yields ai; a+u yields ō and a+ō yields au.

Examples :

a+i=ē	nija iṣṭasiddhi – nijēṣṭasiddhi
a+e=ai	samasta śākṣaram – samastaiśākṣaram

a+u=ō vidita ubhaya – viditōbhaya
a+ō=au vidita okāram – viditaukāram

Kēśirāja adds a note on this. In Kannada there are diphthongs like ē which are 'guru', long and having 'gūḍhasandhi'. These letters are ē, ai, ō, au.

In this sūtra, Kēśirāja gives a quantitative division of the vowels. The basis for such a division is duration of time. A vowel which has one mora (mātra) is a short vowel; that which has two moras is a long vowel; and a vowel with three moras is a protracted (pluta) vowel. How to measure this mora? According to him the time taken to pronounce a consonant is ½ mora. Twice as long is required for the pronunciation of a vowel, i.e., 1 mora. If the time taken to pronounce a vowel is two moras, it is called a long vowel. For a protracted vowel three moras are required.⁵⁵ This is all right for short and long vowels. But what about a protracted (pluta) vowel? Three mātras is the duration required for it. Its occurrence is very rare. It is the over-lengthening of the final vowel of a word or phrase and is only used in cases of questioning, calling a distant person etc. It may be noted that the 'pluta' never occurs in the middle of a word. The context is so rare that it occurs only three times in the entire Rgveda.⁵⁶ Except for technical purposes, it has no value.

The mātra concept, as far as it relates to consonants, has no justification. It may give a general idea of relative duration; but it is not on phonetic basis. According to Kēśirāja, ē, ai, ō, and au are 'guru' and long. The short one is called 'laghu' (light), the long one is 'guru' (heavy). Here, obviously, he has mixed up two different levels. He has extended the concept of moras to prosody which has led to much confusion.

As we have already seen, the concept of duration in terms of moras applies to the vowel. And the vowel forms the nucleus of a syllable. It is so important in the syllable that sometimes a syllable is called vowel.⁵⁷ This has led to the wrong identification of different branches. These two divisions must be kept clearly apart. The division into short (hrasva) and long (dīrgha) is confined to vowels on the phonetic level. The division into light (laghu) and heavy (guru) is to be construed with reference to syllables in prosody.⁵⁸ In prosody, it is not the vowel whether short or long that is important, but the syllable. The terms light and heavy refer to the quantity of the syllable for metrical purposes, for which we have to know the rules of syllabic quantity.⁵⁹

For 'guru' (heavy):

(A syllable containing) a long vowel (including the nasalized vowel) is 'guru.'

(A syllable containing) a short vowel followed by a consonant group or by a final consonant in pause is 'guru.'

For 'laghu' (light):

(A syllable containing) a short vowel not followed by a consonant group is 'laghu'.

A final short vowel may be lengthened to form a heavy syllable.

Within the light and heavy syllables, there are further gradations for example, (A syllable containing) a long vowel is heavy; and heavier if accompanied by a consonant; (a syllable containing) a short vowel with a (preceding) consonant is light; and lighter without a consonant.⁶⁰ Yet their designation is simply heavy and light.

The above discussion implies that the syllabic division is an important factor in deciding heavy and light syllables. Let us take some representative examples to explain the idea of syllabic boundary: the Kannada words, ā, ī, bā, tā, kal, kāl, hālu, anna, hambala and so on. The fundamental basis of the syllable is the vowel. There are as many syllables as there are vowels. Hence, ā, ī, bā, tā, kal, kāl are monosyllabic. Hālu, anna have two syllables each and hambala, three. The real question lies in the words with more than one syllable, and the question is that of fixing the syllabic boundary. Hālu has two syllables, viz., hā and lu, anna has two syllables, viz., an and na. (The rule is that the first member of the word-medial double consonant goes with the previous vowel and the second consonant goes with following vowel). In hambala, there are three. ham, ba, and la.⁶¹ Now, according to the rules of 'guru' and 'laghu' discussed above, ā, ī, bā, tā, kāl, hā, kal, an, ham are heavy syllables; and lu, na, ba and la are light syllables.

ē, ai, ō and au are termed diphthongs by Kēśirāja. Before considering the question whether there are diphthongs in Kannada or not, let us present the concept of diphthongs in Sanskrit, which has been the basis of our grammars. The term for diphthong in Sanskrit is 'sandhyakṣara'. The term 'sandhyakṣara' is found in Kātantra Vyākaraṇa. In Pāṇini, the terms 'guṇa' and 'vridhi' are found. ē and ō (including a) are termed 'guṇa' and ai and au (including a) are 'vridhi'.⁶²

What is a diphthong? Diphthong has two aspects: phonetic and phonemic. In the phonetic aspect, diphthong is defined according to its pronunciation. According to this view, a diphthong has the pronunciation of more than one vowel.⁶³ In such a case, there is one prominent vowel and another not. This prominent vowel may either be the first or the second member. The diphthong with the first vowel prominent is termed falling diphthong; one with the second vowel prominent is rising diphthong.⁶⁴ According to the ancient works on grammar, there are at least three ways of pronouncing diphthongs. In the diphthongs *e* and *o*, the *a* has only half a mora; in *ai* and *au*, it has two moras.⁶⁵ It is not known where *a* ends and *i* or *u* begins, as the two coalesce, like milk and water.⁶⁶ In the pronunciation of *e*, the raising of the middle of the tongue towards the palate is less than in the case of *i*, owing to the fact that the former is mixed with *a*.⁶⁷ Perhaps this is the reason why Kēśirāja uses the term 'gūḍhasandhi'.

According to the phonemic aspect, the diphthong is considered as a sequence of vowels.⁶⁸

Examples :

$a+i=\bar{e}$	$a+e=ai$
$a+u=\bar{o}$	$a+o=au$

The four diphthongs are transcribed as \bar{e} , \bar{o} , *ai* and *au*. As the transcription suggests, there is no doubt about *ai* and *au* being diphthongs. But for \bar{e} and \bar{o} the case is not so clear, though historically⁶⁹ they are diphthongs. The time required for the 'pluta' is three moras, whereas the time required for the diphthongs *ai* and *au* is four moras. That is, second element of *ai* and *au* a 'pluta'.⁷⁰ But this suggestion is rejected by other grammarians. According to Śakaṭāyana, when *ai* and *au* become 'pluta', both their elements should uniformly increase in quantity.⁷¹ Kātyāyana⁷² interprets the 'pluta' of *i* and *u* as long. According to him, the total moras of the 'pluta' diphthongs *ai* and *au* would have been three. According to the view of both these authors, the second element tends to be longer in 'pluti'. There is also a view that the first element should be pronounced as 'pluta'.⁷³ So, it is clear that there is no unanimity about the quantity of the diphthongs though the view that the second element is longer and had more support.

The above discussion may be concluded with the statement that, whereas the phonological value of \bar{e} and \bar{o} is $a+i$ and $a+u$,⁷⁴ that of *ai* and *au* is $\bar{a}+\bar{i}$ and $\bar{a}+\bar{u}$.

This is all about the nature of diphthongs in Sanskrit. The question is whether these diphthongs exist in Kannada. About, \bar{e} and \bar{o} there is no question, as Kēśirāja has admitted that they are not diphthongs. The evidence for this is his inclusion in the category of monophthongs (*samānas*) the short (*e*, *o*) and long (\bar{e} , \bar{o}) counterparts. About *ai* and *au*, there is considerable discussion. There are two aspects of this discussion. One, whether the diphthongs are found in Kannada or not. The answer is, there are no diphthongs,⁷⁵ as the words, *kaungu* is written (of course, the basis for this writing is the pronunciation) as *kavungu*, *kaigai* as *keygey* and *mai* written as *mey*, according to Kēśirāja.

If Kēśirāja admits the existence of diphthongs in Kannada, it is not clear why he refers to only two diphthongs viz., *ai* and *au*. These are not the only diphthongs, because to this list we can add *ui* and *oi*, which have similar behaviour. The reason for the exclusion of *ui* and *oi* by Kēśirāja is obvious: they are not listed in Sanskrit alphabet.

After admitting that there are no diphthongs, what is the pronunciation of *ai* and *au*? If one says that these are not diphthongs, it should follow that the second component of these units is either a fullfledged vowel or a consonant. As, in Kannada two vowels cannot come one after another, it must be a consonant. And that consonant is *y* (in *ai*) and *w* (*au*). What remains now is the pronunciation of the vowel *a*. Whether it was *a*-like or *e*-like? Here again, there is no controversy about the pronunciation of *a* in *aw*. It is clearly admitted to be *a*. But about the quality of *a* in *ay*, there is considerable controversy. Dr. Caldwell says that *ai*, unlike the Sanskrit diphthong, represents *e* and *i*, not *a* and *i*.⁷⁶ For this, he cites the example of the proto-Dravidian 'talai', represented in Kannada as 'tale'. He also cites Kumārilabhata as saying that he considered the Dravidian *ei* nearer *e* than *ai*. In old Kannada literature, it is to be noticed that the pronunciation of *ai* was both *ay* and *aw*.⁷⁷ So can we say that it was both *ay* and *ey*? Let us look at some words.

Examples :

<i>mai</i>	'body'	<i>mey</i>	'to graze'
<i>kai</i>	'hand'	<i>key (gey)</i>	'to do'

In these words, some pattern can be noticed. The pronunciation of the words meaning body and to graze is different; and similarly it is different in the words meaning hand and to do. The first words

of these pairs are written in Kannada with ai. In the second set, the words are written regularly with a final consonant, viz., mey, key, etc. It means that there are two sets of words with no mutual relation at all. In the words where consonants are written in the final position, the vowel is e; whereas in the words written with a diphthongal written symbol, the pronunciation is a. That means, the pronunciation of 'a' in 'ai' is just a. There are words like kaidu (kaydu) and aidu (aydu) where we have only a, but not e. Hence, the pronunciation of a in ai was a (sometimes e in old Kannada) and not e as maintained by Dr. Caldwell and others.

Though Kēśirāja has said that there are fourteen vowels in Kannada, according to his own rules there should be more. The fourteen vowels are divided into seven short and seven long vowels. To this we have to add seven 'pluta' vowels. Thus, it brings up the vowels into twentyone. Further, there are two diphthongs. The total number is twentythree.⁷⁸

The foregoing discussion helps us to establish only ten vowels in Kannada, because the four vowels : ṛi, ṛī, lṛi and lṛī are not found in Kannada and there are no diphthongs ai and au. This reduces the vowels to: a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ē, o, ō. As 'pluta' is not necessary, as already seen, there are no 'pluta' varieties. This discussion is only from the conventional point of view.

The number of vowels, i.e., vowel-phonemes, can be further reduced. According to modern linguistics, the significant units get the symbol. If a particular unit is found universally in a language, it is given a separate symbol. The ten vowels include five short vowels and five long vowels. It is right to give symbols for short vowels. But is it inevitable that the long counter-parts also should be given separate symbols? In Kannada there is a significant variation between short and long vowels in all instances. Hence, the length of the vowel may be indicated by writing it twice. Where consonants are long, they can be written twice to indicate length. Moreover, length is neither vocalic nor consonantal. In all there are five vowel-phonemes and length as a phoneme in Kannada. They may be represented as follows:

/ a i u e o : /

CONSONANTS

We may begin the treatment of consonants with the sūtra where consonants are enumerated.

"The consonants are from k to ḷ. The first twentyfive sounds are classified consonants (varga). The last nine consonants are the unclassified (avarga) ones."

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These 'varṇas' from k to ḷ, are termed consonants. These are 34 in number. The first twentyfive, from k to m, are classified sounds. They are grouped into five classes, each class consisting of five sounds. Each class is known by its first member, e.g. k-varga, which includes k, kh, g, gh, ṅ and so on. These five classes, with their members, are as follows :

k - class	k, kh, g, gh, ṅ
c - class	c, ch, j, jh, ṇ
ṭ - class	ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṣ
t - class	t, th, d, dh, n
p - class	p, ph, b, bh, m

The basis for classification is already given (under sūtra No. 41).

The nine unclassified sounds are :

y, r, l, w, ś, ṣ, s, h, ḷ.

After the enumeration of all consonants, the particular treatment of the second and fourth letters of the 'varga' is found in the next sūtra. "The second and fourth letters of each 'varga' are the aspirates. They are used by the scholars in numbers and in imitative words".

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The second and fourth sounds of each 'varga' are called aspirates (mahāprāṇa). As opposed to the aspirate sounds, the first and third sounds are called unaspirates (alpaprāṇa). These are listed below :

Aspirates : kh, gh, ch, jh, ṭh, ḍh, th, dh, ph, bh.
Unaspirates : k, g, c, j, ṭ, ḍ, t, d, p, b.

The aspirate sounds in Kannada, are used mostly in words indicating number, and in the imitative words.

Examples :

irchāsira, enchāsira (number)

khaṇilene, chummene, bhōrene (imitation)

In this sūtra, Kēśirāja has indicated the aspirate sounds. He has not given any basis on which sounds are divided into aspirated and unaspirated. This process is however explained in the Sanskrit grammars. The TP says: "More breath is emitted in the other voiceless consonants (i.e. the aspirated stops and the fricatives) than in the unaspirated stops."⁷⁹ The sounds with more breath are called aspirate (mahāprāṇa), and those with less breath are called unaspirate (alpaprāṇa) sounds.

The modern concept of aspiration is not different from that found in Sanskrit texts. If, while producing a stop, there is an extra puff of air, the feature is called aspiration, and the sound accompanied by this aspiration is called aspirated stop.⁸⁰ Aspiration can be found in both the voiced and voiceless stops.

In addition to the aspirated sounds, there is another feature of classification which is not touched by Kēśirāja, but is used by him for classification. That feature is voicing. In the list of classified sounds, every third and fourth sounds of the class are voiced sounds. For example, g, gh, j, jh, ḍ, ḍh, d, dh, b, bh. These sounds are called 'nāda' (voice) sounds, 'nāda' being force of voiced breath. "When the glottis is closed, voice is produced, when it is open breath."⁸¹ There is another statement which explains the relation of the voicing process to the various sounds. "The breath is emitted in the case of the voiceless consonants, and voice in the case of voiced consonants and the vowels."⁸² "Whilst 'ghoṣavat' and 'aghoṣa' are generally used for voiced and voiceless, the usual term for voice is 'nāda' and not 'ghoṣa'. The sound with 'nāda' is 'ghoṣavat' (not 'nādavāt') and without 'nāda' is 'aghoṣa' (not anāda)".⁸³

If at the time of pronouncing a particular sound, the vocal cords are vibrating, there is voice. The sounds accompanied by voice are voiced sounds. If the vocal cords are silent, there is no voice. Sounds in such a situation are called voiceless. Voicing is not confined to consonants only. The vowels are almost always voiced. The voiced and voiceless consonants among the classified letters are:

Voiceless	k kh,	c ch,	ṭ ṭh,	t th	p ph.
Voiced	g gh,	j jh,	ḍ ḍh,	d dh	b bh.

After the question of the distinction between the aspirated and unaspirated sounds is discussed, the question whether aspirated sounds exist in Kannada, is discussed in the next sūtra. "The aspirates are also found used naturally in some Kannada words".

Aspirate sounds are natural to Kannada according to Kēśirāja. He has already said in the previous sūtra that these aspirated sounds are used in numerals and imitative words. Here he does not seem to restrict his statement.

Examples :

dekkhāṇam, pakkhāṇam, khārige, jhālakam,
ḍhage, dhāḷi, bhāvam.

The question is whether these aspirates are inherent in Kannada as Kēśirāja supposes? All the words in the list are either from Sanskrit or Prakrit. None of these is natural to Kannada. Kēśirāja is not consistent in his opinion. In the previous sūtra he has stated that the aspirates occur only in numerals and imitative words and here he states that they are inherent. The examples given for the present sūtra are not drawn from Kannada. As for the examples given for numerals, it can be seen that the second member of these compounds is 'sāśira'. This 'sāśira' is the corrupted form of the Sanskrit 'sahasra'. This is also not a Kannada word. When this word 'sāśira' is combined with some numeral, the s- the first sound of that word becomes ch-. But what about other cases where words beginning with s- are found without such a change? For example, eraḍu + seragu = irceragu. In such cases it is perhaps due to the influence of Sanskrit Sandhi.⁸⁴ The numeral compounds given above are not native Kannada compounds.

Imitative words are borrowed words. Most of them may be originally unaspirated. These are aspirated sounds as Prof. M. M. Bhat considers⁸⁵ because of the idea that they would enhance the emphasis of the concerned sound. Even there the aspiration is not universal, not everyone pronounces these words with aspiration. If aspiration is natural, these words should have been uniformly pronounced with aspiration. Prof. M. M. Bhat shows that there are some words which in Sanskrit are unaspirated, but are aspirated in Kannada. For example, Khoppar (Kan) is derived from Sanskrit word Karpara 'shoulder-blade' or Karpara 'cauldron'.

Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa, the predecessor of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, is doubtful on the matter. It states "There are perhaps no second and fourth letters of the 'varga'." By 'perhaps' it is meant that they are found in numerals and imitative words etc.⁸⁶ They, as shown above, occur in a very restricted environment, that too, not in Kannada.

Kaypiḍi (Part I) gives⁸⁷ three reasons as to why aspirates are not native to Kannada. They are :

The examples given by Kēśirāja for the numerals begin only with 'sāsira' as the second member. 'Sāsira' itself is not a Kannada word being a corruption of Sanskrit word.

Imitative words which have aspirates cannot form the basis, as they may also be unaspirated.

The examples given by Kēśirāja to show that aspirates are natural are not Kannada words.⁸⁸

The latter half of the sūtra deals with 'bindu'. "The fifth letter of each classified group of consonants is called nasal, and the nasal letters are ṅ, ṇ, ṣ, n, and m."

The nasal (anunāsika) sound as we have already explained is produced when both the oral and the nasal cavities are open, the articulation being in the oral cavity.⁸⁹ For the nasal sound, every activity being the same as that of the oral sound, the nasal passage is open. Nasals, also, are stops.

The 'Bindu' is called 'anunāsika' and is included among the four yōgavāhas'. The idea of the four 'yōgavāhas' is given in the next sūtra. "The 'bindu' visarga, jīhvāmūlīya, and upadhmānīya are called the 'yōgavāha' letters." The jīhvāmūlīya stands before k and the upadhmānīya before p (SDS 27). The k of jīhvāmūlīya is to facilitate pronunciation. If this k is deleted, the remaining letter looks like a 'pasumbe'. The form of the letter along with k is ×₄

The p in upadhmānīya is for helping pronunciation. Its form is like the breast of a young girl. The form of the letter along with 'p' is ∞

The sonne is circular in shape like the circling of a kaivāra (compass). Its form is O. Two such bindus are arranged one above the other to form the 'visarga' and the shape is ∞.

In this sūtra, too, Kēśirāja gives a graphic picture of the 'yōgavāhas' but not their nature. In sūtra 43, he has omitted three of these yōgavāhas', viz., visarga, jīhvāmūlīya and upadhmānīya. Hence, they are not necessary for Kannada.

Let us study the nature of these 'yōgavāhas'. 'Visarga' is the short form of 'visarjanīya, which means terminator, terminal sound. The symbol given for it is ∞. It may be transcribed as ḥ. The Sanskrit grammatical treatises classify visarga with the fricatives ś, ṣ and s.⁹⁰

Besides the 'visarga', there are jīhvāmūlīya (lit. 'of tongue-root') whose symbol given in Kannada grammar is ∞, which is transcribed as a fricative X and the upadhmānīya (lit. 'breathed-at') has the symbol ∞ in our grammar which is transcribed as bilabial fricative φ.

Whatever symbols are given for these three, their pronunciation is not independent. The 'jīhvāmūlīya' sound is pronounced only before k, for example, 'uṣaḥkāla'. 'Upadhmānīya' is pronounced only before p, for example, 'payaḥpāna'. 'Visarga' occurs before a pause and before sounds of another class. When it occurs in the final position, it is pronounced as ḥ (e. g. rāmaḥ, dēvaḥ, etc.) and before other sounds as ś, ṣ, or s (e. g. devaś carati, devas tiṣṭhati etc.). The striking point about all these sounds is that they have no single fixed position of articulation, there being no agreement about the point of articulation or the articulator.

Limiting ourselves, here, to 'jīhvāmūlīya,' 'upadhmānīya' and 'visarga' (without its various representations like ś, ṣ, s, etc.) we may say that as the three sounds have a well defined environment of their own, it may be concluded that, 'visarga' may be taken as a phonemic representative, with 'jīhvāmūlīya' and 'upadhmānīya' as its positional variants, i.e., the allophones. That means, there is only one phoneme 'visarga', and it has three allophones – 'jīhvāmūlīya' occurring before k, 'upadhmānīya' before p and 'visarga' elsewhere.⁹¹

Kēśirāja, having retained the 'bindu' in his alphabet, discarding the three 'yōgavāhas', treats of it in the following sūtras: "The cipher is called 'bindu' and 'anusvāra'. It is like a pearl, circular in shape. If two such ciphers are arranged vertically one over the other, like in an ornament, that symbol is used for 'visarga'.⁹²

"For sonne (cipher) there are two names, 'bindu' and 'anusvāra'. It is like a single pearl. It is the corrupted form of the Sanskrit śūnya. Its shape is o."

SDS 21

It is strange that Kēśirāja deals with the 'visarga', though, according to him, it is not necessary for Kannada. This is done because he is

describing all sounds whether of Sanskrit or Kannada. Only after this is done, he deducts the sounds not necessary for Kannada. This was not necessary.

In the next sūtra, Kēśirāja gives the pronunciation of the 'bindu' (and 'visarga'). "The 'bindu' and the 'visarga' take their positions next to a vowel, and they by themselves cannot be pronounced. They are called dependents on the vowel, and dependents on the consonant."

SDS 22

As they come after vowels, and have no independent pronunciation, the 'bindu' and 'visarga' are termed 'svarāṅga' and 'vyanjanāṅga'.

As the 'bindu' and the 'visarga' have no independent pronunciation, they are pronounced with the help of some other sound. In the sūtra, it is said that they are both 'svarāṅga' and 'vyanjanāṅga'. As the 'bindu' and the 'visarga' go with vowels, it is correct to say that they are 'svarāṅgas'. Probably, Kēśirāja meant that, while all the other 'vyanjanas' occur as syllabic onsets, at least in graphic representation, e.g. $\text{ṛ}=\text{k}$, $\text{ṛ}=\text{g}$, the visarga and anusvāra do not have this status, since they occur as syllabic codas. Moreover ṛ etc., can be written independent of the vowels, but not the bindu or the visarga, which in the Kannada 'varṇamāle' is written as o and ɪ. But what about 'vyanjanāṅga'? 'Vyanjanas' themselves are mostly 'svarāṅgas'.⁹³

In the sūtra there are two terms used as synonyms viz., *anunāsika* and *anusvāra*, which, in fact, are different. A detailed explanation of all this will follow after the enumeration of the sūtras on the bindu.

The next sūtra is: "After m and n, whether there is a consonant or not, the 'bindu' is born. If there is one of the classified consonants, it becomes optionally the fifth letter of the class".

SDS 125

After m and n, whether there is a consonant or not, m and n become 'bindu'; that means, at least in certain environments, there is neutralisation of m and n. But, if after the 'bindu', there is one of the sounds of the class, it will be a nasal of that class.

There are three varieties in the nasality:

1 If, along with the oral cavity, the nasal cavity is open, the sounds produced are called nasal sounds. Such nasal sounds are five in number, viz., m, n, ṅ, ñ, ṇ.

2 Another variety having nasality is the nasalised vowel. In such vowels, nasality is an additional feature. However, they are not very frequent.

3 The third variety of nasality is 'anusvāra'. This 'anusvāra' may be given the symbol ṁ. The environment in Sanskrit, in which the 'anusvāra' comes, is after the vowels and before the fricatives ś, ṣ and s (and sometimes h) in the first stage. For example, *aṁśa*, *haṁśa* etc. That is, the nasal sound which comes before the fricative sounds in Sanskrit has a special name 'anusvāra'. During the second stage, this environment is widened and it begins to occur before v and y. About 'anusvāra', there are three prominent views.

a) 'Anusvāra' is a nasalized vowel. The literal meaning of *anusvāra* can be seen here, viz., "after-sound". This is the opinion of the Siddhānta Kaumudī. According to it, the phenomenon, where there is an elision of m and n and the previous vowel is nasalised, is *anusvāra* (This opinion is expressed in sūtra No. 172 of Kēśirāja).

b) *Anusvāra* may have the feature of either a vowel or a consonant, or it is both a vowel and a consonant.⁹⁴ Sūtra 22 of *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* fits in this scheme.

c) *Anusvāra* is a consonant. Its pronunciation is g.

According to scholars, no Dravidian language has this *anusvāra*. The only approximation to the *anusvāra* is Telugu *ardhānusvāra*.⁹⁵ Kannada has taken the nomenclature from Sanskrit, and applied it to the nasal sound before the consonants of each class.

It is clear that the nasal sound before the 'varga' consonants is different from that found in the environment of fricatives and y, r, w. The articulation in *haṁśa*, *siṁha* is different from that found in *hambala pampa*, etc., and similarly, in *sanyama*, *svayamvara* etc. The nasal sound before the 'varga' consonants is a stop; and the nasal before the fricatives, and y, r and w is different. This fricative nasal sound is 'anusvāra'; the others, are 'anunāsika'.

The purport of the above discussion is that 'anusvāra' and nasal are theoretically different, being bound by the environment. But this difference, in due course vanished, perhaps due to confusion or ignorance. Hence, the 'anusvāra' began to occur before the 'varga' consonants. In the beginning, it was due to convenience of writing. In Sanskrit, for *anusvāra* a separate symbol (◌ṁ) is used above the letter e.g., हृ॑ँ, and before the 'varga' consonants the fifth letter of the class is used. Wherever there is 'anusvāra', (before ś, ṣ, s, h, r, y, v), the cipher (bindu) is used. The same symbol, being convenient, came to be used before other consonants.

The next stage is seen in Kannada. When 'bindu' lost its original nature, it began to be used everywhere, and became the representative of all the nasal sounds in Kannada. It is all right if the 'bindu' comes in haṁsa etc., but it was used in words like gangā, tande, aṇṭu etc. However, this is not to suggest that the pronunciation also was changed. What happened in Kannada was the borrowing of the Sanskrit nomenclature with its orthographic symbol, but leaving out its function.

Another question here is: How many nasal phonemes are there in Kannada? Kēśirāja as well as other grammarians list five nasal sounds, viz., m, n, ṇ ṇ̄ and ṇ̄. But are all of these significant for Kannada? Of these five, /m/, /n/, /ṇ/ occur in minimal pairs like amma, anna, aṇṇa. Therefore they are phonemes. There are no such minimal pairs for ṇ̄ and ṇ̄. ṇ̄ and ṇ̄ have a definite and predictable environment. Hence, they can be grouped as allophones of /n/, the environment being the consonant of its class. Hence, though there are five nasal sounds in Kannada, there are only three nasal phonemes. Each of these nasal sounds has a symbol in the writing system. And 'bindu' (o) is the common symbol for all these nasal sounds. As the existing system has provided for nasal sounds, bindu is not necessary for Kannada on both phonological and orthographic levels.⁹⁶

In the next sūtra Kēśirāja mentions some nasal consonants. "The letters y, w and l are nasals as well as non-nasals."

SDS 26

The consonants y, w and l are both nasals and non-nasals. Examples for the nasal y, w, l are as follows:

y	mēyisidam; mayāṇa
w	sēwe, jāwam, māwam.
l	allaṇige, ollaṇige, hallaṇa.

The question is whether these examples of nasal consonants have nasality and, if so, is it so significant as to give it a phonemic status. In examples like mēyisidam, nōyisidam, the nasality is due to the adjacent consonant. If the nasality is due to the influence of the neighbouring sound, it is not significant. Some other words, like jāwam, kōwaṇam are from Sanskrit, and -m- between two vowels becomes nasalized w. In some words, it is just due to the idiosyncrasy of a particular individual but not a general phenomenon.

If these y, w and l are nasalized, why did Kēśirāja not give them the status of a 'varṇa'? He says that there are both varieties, nasal

and non-nasal sounds, but does not include them in the alphabet. Hence, we have to say that this nasalization in y, w and l is allophonic.

Kēśirāja explains the nature of some individual letters in the next sūtras. "The letter ḷ which stands as a substitute for l occurring in Sanskrit words is called the kṣaḷa".

SDS 26

The Kannada letter ḷ, which comes in the place of the Sanskrit l is given the name of kṣaḷa. For example, the ḷ occurring in the words jaḷam (Skt. jalam), phaḷam (Skt. phalam), tiḷam (Skt. tilam), baḷam (Skt. balam) etc. is called kṣaḷa. A detailed treatment will follow the enumeration of all the sūtras.

In the next sūtra, Kēśirāja explains the nature of kṣaḷa and the reason why he is treating kṣaḷa. "In a poetical composition where kuḷa is employed, kṣaḷa has not the option of being used as l. In a poetical composition where l is employed as prāsa, kṣaḷa should not be used even optionally. There is no option for the Sanskrit l except in the exigency of a kṣaḷa. Hence, I spoke of the kṣaḷa here."

SDS 15

Kuḷa means the ḷ found in Kannada words. Kṣaḷa is ḷ which is different from l (of Sanskrit) as there is no difference between l and ḷ in Sanskrit. The gloss on this sūtra reads: "As the Kannada poetical composition in which there is kuḷa, prāsa includes kṣaḷa and l should not be used optionally. In a Kannada composition where l is for prāsa, kṣaḷa has to be used. As kṣaḷa is not used except for the l in Sanskrit words optionally, kṣaḷa is treated here."⁹⁷

Examples:

For kuḷa-kṣaḷa prāsa:

'kiḷiṇe hayangaḷ garjise
jaḷada nibhangaḷ gajangaḷ

For kuḷa, the kṣaḷa can come as a prāsa. So, the example is all right. The word kiḷiṇe is a Kannada word and hence contains kuḷa. The word jaḷada, which is from Sanskrit jaḷa, contains kṣaḷa. This sort of prāsa is allowed.

For kṣaḷa not being used for l:

olaḡadoḷorme natanara
pālaka cūdāmaṇidyutiḷuta caraṇam

Many have found fault with this example.⁹⁸ The example is given here to show that kṣaḷa is not used for l. The example does not illustrate the fault, but the proper use.⁹⁹ If the example for the fault had been given, it would have been oḷaga and pāḷaka.

In the next sūtra, he treats the nature of r, ḷ etc. "If r is pronounced with greater force, ṛ is produced, ḍ pronounced with greater force results in ḷ and l pronounced with greater force gives rise to ḷ of Kannada known as kuḷa. This kuḷa as we have already seen, cannot be used as prāsa with l."

SDS 28

To reconcile an apparent discrepancy between the sūtra and the gloss, there is a suggestion¹⁰⁰ that in place of 'samane sallada' in the sūtra 'beṭṭitenisida' be read.

The sūtra states that these sounds r, ṛ, ḍ, ḷ, l, ḷ (kuḷa) are used in the alankāra known as varṇāvṛtti (alternation of letters). But these should not be used for the purpose of prāsa. They are, also not used in connection with alaṅkāra 'yamaka'. These four letters along with the short sounds e and o, are indigenous to the Kannada language.¹⁰¹

If r, ḍ and l are pronounced with great force ṛ ḷ and ḷ (kuḷa) are produced. r is alveolar; ṛ also belongs to the same point of articulation, ḍ is retroflex; ḷ belongs to the same point of articulation; l is dental; kuḷa belongs to that point of articulation. Hence, they are used in varṇāvṛtti but not for prāsa and yamaka. ḷ by pressing hard seems to exist in following environments :

May be, as in Tamil, Kēśirāja might have come across an alveolar variety of the dental lateral. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain why a great grammarian like him should stumble in identifying ḷ as a resultant from l.

Examples :

for r & ṛ	more	more,	mare	maṛe	kore	koṛe.
for ḍ & ḷ	kaḍal	kaḷal				
for l & ḷ	mole	moḷe	kale	kaḷe		

As these belong to the same point of articulation, they are used in varṇāvṛtti. There is phonetic similarity among these sounds. More-

over, they are articulated at the same point of articulation, and are different only because of their being pronounced with greater force.¹⁰²

There are some verses which are examples for these points, and there are examples where ḷ comes in place of ḍ : kālḷiccu, koḷkaṭṭu, nīḷkarisidam, māḷpam, nōḷpam, nāḷi, etc. Kēśirāja has mixed up grammar and prosody here. Since his analysis is based on poetry, his examples are necessarily from poetry and to determine the sound value of the different symbols, prāsa is found necessary.

In the next sūtra, examples are given. "The ḍ letter of Sanskrit dāḍima, kūṣmāṇḍa, gauḍa, guḍa, jhagaḍe, viḍanga, eḍaka change into ḷ, when these words take tadbhava forms in Kannada. This ḷ in the above words is a further corruption of ḷ "

SDS 30

The words ḍāḷimbam, kumbaḷam, gauḷam, guḷam, jagale, viḷangam contain ḷ which is from ḷ, which derives from ḍ. The word eḷaga contains kuḷa which (kuḷa) deriving from ḍ.

In the next sūtra, Kēśirāja mentions more letters that give rise to ḷ. "In poetical compositions, ṭ, t, ṭh, r and ḷ (kṣaḷa) change into ḷ in tadbhavas."

SDS 31

Examples :

ṭ → ḷ	ghaṭike	gaḷige,	dhāṭi	dhāḷi,	lāṭam
		lāḷam			
t → ḷ	pratihastam	paḷihattam,	pratipādukam	paḷivāvuge	
ṭh → ḷ	maṭhike	maḷige,	pīṭhike	pīḷige	
r → ḷ	kūram	kūḷa,	jhallari	jhallaḷi.	
kṣaḷa ḷ	tāḷam	tāḷ,	puḷinam	puḷil	

The examples are continued in the next sūtra. "The letter ṭ is changed into ḷ in the words sphaṭika, pēṭike, viṭike, ghuṭike, varāta, raghaṭe, sphuṭa, sphoṭaka and lampāṭa, when they are tadbhavas."

SDS 32

He says that the word hōḷige, corrupted from sphoṭaka, and lampāḷa from lampāṭa are doubtful examples for ḷ but they are ḷ.

In the next sūtra, a list of words with ḷ is given. "The meanings of the words with letter ḷ vary from one to as many as five. These words are from the works of the great poets of early times."

SDS 33

He has selected 181 words from the works of great poets of yore. The list contains the words with one to five meanings.

In the next sūtra, he gives the rule for double consonants with r: "In prāsa, long consonants with r are sometimes used along with long consonants with ḷ. The usage is correct though the r with double consonant cannot be pronounced as ḷ." SDS 34

In the following sūtra, he gives words which he is not sure whether they are kuḷa or ṛaḷa. "It is doubtful whether the ḷ in the following words is kuḷa or ṛaḷa. The letter is to be determined after considering the usages. All examples given here go to prove that they are all kuḷa." SDS 35

"In the words jhaḷakam, jhaḷapisidam, jānguḷi, bombuḷi, ālamāḷam, ṭhamāḷam, vaḷige, onduḷi, janguḷi, puttaḷi, goḷi, peḷi, it is not clear whether there is ḷ or ṛaḷa. It is also not clear in ḷidiḷiyam, āḷidam, sūkuḷi, ōkuḷi, kaḷaṛu, peḷaṛu, maṛukuḷi, aḷiyam, kuḷiyam, moḷige, jāḷige, taḷige, baḷasu, baḷasiga, moḷe, tāḷam." SDS 36

In the next two sūtras, the list of examples is continued. They are aḷisidam, pēḷisidam, kēḷam, jūdāli, ḷile, kaḷavaḷam, meymēḷam māḷam, tāḷige, ḷige, iṛukuḷi have kuḷa. SDS 37

The next sūtra gives words where words ending in ḷ are pronounced as ḷ. "The words beral, eral, oral, koral, saral, aral, paral, maral, naral and mungaysaral end in ḷ. People ignorant of this fact pronounce them wrongly as if ending in ḷ (kuḷa). The above words ending in ḷ should not be confused with words ending in ḷ (kuḷa). SDS 38

All these words end in ḷ. Hence, they should not be pronounced as if ending in ḷ. In Kēśirāja's time ḷ was changing to ṛ; this trend increased in later times and today we have only ṛ in all these places. In the next sūtra the optional use of ḷ is permitted. "The medial r in the words like maral, aral and eral becomes optionally ḷ. Thus, through interchange of ḷ and r, these words are also pronounced as malar, alar and elar." SDS 39

The word 'vikalpa' (option) means that a word has both the usages.

Let us deal with r and ṛ. There is no doubt about the existence of two r's in old Kannada, and, to some extent, in middle Kannada. In modern Kannada there is only one r, the two r's having merged into one. And there is no doubt about the difference that existed in the pronunciation of these two. The examples given by Kēśirāja to prove the existence of two r's are: more-moṛe, mare-maṛe, kore-koṛe.

About the pronunciation of these two, Kēśirāja says that if r is pronounced with greater force ṛ is produced. In the gloss, he says r is retroflex; and ṛ also has the same point of articulation. Is, or was, the pronunciation of r retroflex? The position of articulation in retroflex sounds is: the tip of the tongue is curled towards the soft palate, especially in the region of the dome.¹⁰³ Such retroflex sounds in Kannada are ṭ, ḍ, ṇ, ṣ, ḷ. But in r such pronunciation is not found. While pronouncing r, the tip of the tongue touches the alveolar region, for a very short period. Hence, r is, in terms of phonetics, a voiced alveolar flap. Then, how could Kēśirāja say that it is a retroflex? The answer is that Pāṇini said so.¹⁰⁴ But Pāṇini's statement itself is refuted. As regards r, all the Prātisākhya state that its place of origin is either the teeth, the roots of the teeth or the teeth-ridge.¹⁰⁵ That is, according to the Prātisākhya, r was either dental or alveolar, and not retroflex as Pāṇini thought. Hence, the pronunciation of r is not retroflex as Kēśirāja says in imitation of Pāṇini, but alveolar.¹⁰⁶

The r usually pronounced in Sanskrit today is more the trilled variety, where the tongue touches the teeth ridge and delivers a rapid series of taps thereon.¹⁰⁷ This rāpha, according to Daniel Jones, has at least six varieties,¹⁰⁸ of course not in Kannada. Different from this rāpha, there is another r, called Sakaṭa rāpha ṛ. This is not found in Sanskrit. Hence, it is included by Kēśirāja in the list of letters peculiar to Kannada.

ṛ is included among the semi-vowels by Rev. Caldwell, and is considered as an exclusive property of the Dravidian languages.¹⁰⁹ He also notes its peculiarity. It cannot be pronounced without the help of the preceding vowels. The use of ṛ is one of the distinguishing features of old, as distinct from modern Kannada.¹¹⁰

The use of ṛ has two peculiarities in Tamil.¹¹¹ ṛ when doubled, is pronounced as ttr, written as ṛṛ. The t of this compound sound differs both from the varga consonant t and the retroflex ṭ. In Kannada, it becomes t. e.g., māṛṛu in Tamil becomes mātu in Kannada. In old Kannada, the same phenomenon is noticed.

When *r* is pronounced with greater force, *ṛ* is produced. As there is no *ṛ* in modern Kannada, it is difficult to decide its pronunciation. In old Kannada, *ṛ* had a distinct existence. *ṛ* was maintained throughout the 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th centuries.¹¹² But this change started much earlier, even in the 10th century.¹¹³ There is another suggestion, that the phoneme *ṛ* in Kannada seems to be a partial 'āyām' correspondent, because it is used to represent the upadhmanīya before *P* in old Kannada inscriptions.¹¹⁴

The *ṛ* is found even today in speech of the Soligās. On the strength of this and other Dravidian languages we may say that *ṛ* was a back alveolar trill. That is, against *r*, where there were one or two taps of the tip of the tongue, (so it is flap), here more vibrations of the tip of the tongue are found. It is more back than *ṛ*.¹¹⁵ It is called 'rephāsrita', because, it is produced by *r* with greater force, and in some contexts *ṛ* is changed to *r*.

Now let us consider *ḷ*, *ḷ* and *ḷ* (kṣaḷa). *ḷ* is called kuḷa, *ḷ* ṛaḷa and *ḷ* (kṣaḷa). About *ḷ* (kuḷa) there is no controversy as regards its pronunciation. It is a retroflex lateral. The tip of the tongue is curled towards the domal region, and while pronouncing it the air passes through one of the sides of the tongue. In addition to this Kannada phoneme, there was one more phoneme in old Kannada, and is found only in old Kannada poetry. This was found in such words as: aḷti (love), kaḷtale (darkness), paḷatu (old), poḷtu (time), ēḷu (seven), kaḷte (donkey) puḷu (worm) etc.

The pronunciation of *ḷ* is very difficult to decide as it has ceased to be used long since. Tamil still retains it. The *ṛ* of Tamil is a corresponding phoneme of Kannada *ḷ*. The pronunciation of this *ḷ*, according to Kēśirāja is: If *ḷ* is pronounced with greater force, *ḷ* is produced. But what about the pronunciation of *ḷ*? This *ḷ* is now pronounced as flap between two vowels, and in other contexts it is a stop. This *ḷ*, if pronounced with greater force, yields *ḷ*. But in *ḷ* the tip of the tongue is, perhaps, slightly back. The pronunciation of *ḷ* may be inferred on the basis of the following facts:

Its pronunciation in the Badaga language.

The fact that the pronunciation of *ḷ* is indicated with the help of *ṛ*.

In words gaḷde gaṛde, biḷdu biṛdu etc., *ḷ* changes to *ṛ*.

That *ḷ* and *ṛ* can come in the prāsa.

ḷ comes as a substitute for *ḷ* in the words kāḷige kālke, nāḷi, nālī.

The Kannada words with *ḷ*, and *ḷ* are found in Sanskrit with *ḷ*.

The fact that *ḷ* pronounced with greater force yields *ḷ*.

These factors indicate that the pronunciation of *ḷ* was somewhere between *ḷ* and *ḷ*.¹¹⁶

But no definiteness is found in Kēśirāja's treatment of *ḷ*. He says, sometimes, that *ḷ* comes as a substitute for *ḷ* and gives as examples such words as kāḷu + kiccu = kālḷiccu, nāḷu + kaḷe = nālkaḷe, nāḷi nālī etc. In another sūtra, he says that *ḷ* comes as a substitute for *ḷ*. His examples are: gauḷam gauḷam, guḷa guḷa etc. In some other words, he is not clear whether there is *ḷ* or *ḷ*, e.g. jhaḷaka, janguḷi, etc. In such words, one should decide on the basis of usage.

He has said that *ḷ* comes as a substitute for *ḷ*; but, again, he says (sūtra 31) that *ḷ* may come as a substitute for *ṛ*, *ṛ*, *t*, *r* or *kṣaḷa*. His examples are:

t→ḷ	ghaṭike	gaḷige,	lāṭa	lāḷa
t→ḷ	pratihastam	paḷihattam		
r→ḷ	kūram	kūḷ	jhallari	jhallaḷi
(kṣaḷa) l→ḷ	tāḷam	tāḷ	puḷinam	puḷil

In another place, he says *ḷ* (kuḷa) comes as a substitute for *ṛ*, e.g., sphaṭikam paḷikam, pēḷike pēḷige. That is, for *ṛ* sometimes *ḷ* may come; and in some other place *ḷ*. It is clear that Kēśirāja has not been able to give precise rules for these sounds. They were already disappearing, and it was only a vain attempt by Kēśirāja to establish them. For the divergent views expressed by Kēśirāja, the reason was that *ḷ* was disappearing, giving place to *ḷ*. Hence, similar words contain both *ḷ* and *ḷ*. What we can say here is: *ḷ* was changing, and *ḷ* was occupying its place.

Let us consider *kṣaḷa* *ḷ*. This is found in Kannada in addition to the two *ḷ*s. The definition of this *ḷ* given by Kēśirāja is: the *ḷ* which comes in place of *ḷ* of Sanskrit words is *kṣaḷa*. The *ḷ* in Sanskrit words optionally becomes *ḷ* in Kannada. This is for the sake of prāsa, because Sanskrit *ḷ* and Kannada *ḷ* cannot come in prāsa. The examples for *kṣaḷa* are phaḷam (Skt. phalam), jaḷam (Skt. jalam) etc. There is no difference in the pronunciation of kuḷa and kṣaḷa.¹¹⁷ Hence, this distinction is not of much importance, except for prosody. The phonetic value of the *kṣaḷa* is the same as kuḷa. The only place it

comes is in prāsasthāna, as a substitute for l. Hence, kṣaḷa is just a functional nomenclature and not a different sound.

Was kṣaḷa found in Sanskrit? Kēśirāja, in the enumeration of the Sanskrit alphabet, includes ḷ (ḷakāmbaregam). There is 'kṣaḷa' because, while deducting the letters peculiar to Sanskrit, he deducts kṣaḷa also. Then, how to reconcile this 'kṣaḷa' in the Sanskrit alphabet where no ḷ is found. Though Sanskrit had only l, atleast some people were pronouncing it as ḷ, e.g., 'aḷimāḷāṇīḷanīḷōtpaḷadaḷa viḷasat kanja kinjaḷa punjāvaḷi'.¹¹⁸ This pronunciation is noticed mostly among the people of southern regions. But there are some in northern regions who pronounced 'causaṭṭi mūḷavaṇṇāhu' etc. This confused scholars and resulted in two views, viz.: 1) That there is ḷ in Sanskrit and 2) As l and ḷ are same in meaning, it is not necessary to give the varṇa-status for ḷ in Sanskrit.¹¹⁹ Kēśirāja belonged to the first set.

Now, since, out of the three ḷ's of old Kannada, ḷ has merged into ḷ (kuḷa) and kṣaḷa is nothing but a functional nomenclature for the same, we can say that only one ḷ is sufficient for Kannada.

After the treatment of r, ṛ, ḷ, ḷ and ḷ (kṣaḷa), Kēśirāja notes some peculiarities in the pronunciation of some letters. "There are some Kannada words with obligatory and optional anusvāra, some with slack consonants, and with double consonants, and some others which are both."

SDS 46

There are certain words where the nasal sound is always found. As an example, Kēśirāja gives a list of 64 words where nasality was regularly found. Then he gives 18 words which were pronounced with or without nasality. What does it indicate? By the time of Kēśirāja, nasality was disappearing from words. The list of 18 words where the nasal sound was pronounced optionally, has completely disappeared now. Out of the list of words where nasality was regularly pronounced, it is lost in the majority of words.¹²⁰ Is it possible to give any rule for the loss of nasality? In all dysyllabic words where the first vowel is long, nasality at the end of the first syllable is lost: For example, dāṇṭu – dāṇṭu, tōṇṭa – tōṇṭa, sīṇṭu – sīṇṭu etc. In polysyllabic words (which contain only three syllables in the list) whether the vowel is short or long, the nasality after the second or third syllable is lost. For example, aḍangu – aḍagu, kaḍumbu – kaḍubu, kusumbe – kusube etc.

Then, strangely, Kēśirāja gives a list of words containing double consonants like aggaram, aḷti, aḷdam etc. There are two kinds of consonant-clusters in the words. Clusters where the same consonant comes twice, e.g., aggaram (gg), ukkevam (kk), oppam (pp), kappu (pp) etc., and clusters where different consonants come together, e.g., aḷti (ḷt), eḷdam (ḷd), kaḷaldam (ḷd) etc. It is seen that modern Kannada very rarely contains clusters of different consonants. Further study in this direction is a necessity. Why did Kēśirāja give such a list? It would have been sufficient if he had indicated where slackness in consonant occurs. Naturally, in all other contexts, the clusters indicated above occur. The reason why Kēśirāja had to mention such a list was that, by his time, the system was affected, where a double consonant was to be written, only a single consonant was found. The people were not clear about consonant clusters. Hence, Kēśirāja had to give a list containing consonant clusters.¹²¹

The list of words which are 'sithiladivitva' is given. What is meant by 'sithiladivitva'? We have already mentioned two kinds of consonant clusters. We have to add one more variety of clusters, where one of the two consonants in the cluster is slack. 'Sithiladivitva' is a phenomenon where clusters are found with r, ḷ and ḷ as the first members and are pronounced with slackness. There is a slight release after this consonant and before the second consonant begins. Kēśirāja himself has said¹²² that this should be delicately (sulalitamāgi), or softly, pronounced. The time required for pronouncing this 'sithiladivitva' consonant is one mātra. Before the treatment of 'sithiladivitva', Kēśirāja gives some more examples where consonant clusters — but with rēpha — are found: 'urdu, birdu, tardu, mardu, gurdu, tirdu, pardu, gardugu, urdidudu and garde — all have rēpha in them."

SDS 47

In all these words, there is a short penultimate vowel. The penultimate letter is termed 'upadhā' in ancient grammatical literature.¹²³

"Nurgidudu, nergidudu, kargidudu, jarguviḷdudu, pergartu, vorgādar, pergaḷam, kurgidudu — these words too have rēpha."

SDS 48

Here also only a short vowel is found in the penultimate position.

"Iṛpu, tōrpu, karpu, nērpu, sirpe, aḍarpu, ārpu, kūrpu, parparike, iṛpu, keygarpu – all these words have rēpha."

SDS 50

Four of these words have a penultimate long vowel: the rest have a short vowel.

"ārdam, sārdam, pārdam, tīrdam, pordam, pīrdam, kārdam, nōrdam, bārdam, gōrdam, sōrdam."

SDS 49

"ūrgaḷ, kērgaḷ, bērgaḷ, nārgaḷ, tērgaḷ, nēgaḷteyārgaḷ, kūrgaḷ, nīrgaḷ, sīrgaḷ, tārgaḷ, sūrgaḷ, kārgaḷ." These words contain along vowel and rēpha."

SDS 51

What is the reason for listing these words with double consonants where only rēpha is found? The reason appears to be that, in the previous sūtras, he had listed words with double consonants where not a single word had rēpha. It may be that he wanted to show that double consonants with rēpha also occur.

Kāśīrāja gives in the next sūtras the conditions for the occurrence of 'sithiladvitva'. "Slack consonants often occur in the plural formed with -ge of nominal bases which end in ḷ, ḻ or r with a short penultimate vowel."

SDS 52

'If the nominal bases ending in ḷ, ḻ and r contain a short vowel, and get the suffixes - gaḷ, - akke, and -ge (dative) there will mostly be slackness'.

Examples:

ḷ

-gaḷ, agaḷgaḷ, esaḷgaḷ, negaḷgaḷ.
-ge, esaḷge, agaḷge, negaḷge, uguḷge.

If a long vowel or guru, there is no slackness.

bāsuḷgaḷ, ikkuḷgaḷ.

ḻ

-gaḷ muguḷgaḷ, puguḷgaḷ.
-ge muguḷge, puguḷge, amaḷge

Sometimes not slack

kuruḷgaḷ, puruḷgaḷ, maruḷgaḷ.

r

-gaḷ kanargaḷ, konargaḷ, taḷirgaḷ.
-ge mosarge, esarge, osarge.

In case of r which is a substitute of ṛ there is slackness.

aḷirgaḷ, pesargaḷ, eḍargaḷ.

In kādalargaḷ, the first vowel, though long, is still slack.

"A slack consonant occurs in compounds when g, d, v and j are preceded by words which terminate either in r or ḷ with a short penultimate vowel".

SDS 53

In compounds, if the second component contains g, d, j or v as its first member the first component contains r or ḷ at the end and has a short penultimate vowel, then there is slackness.¹²⁴

Examples:

r

kuḷirgāḷi, aḷardōṇṭam, alargoncal, bidirdaṭṭi,
pogarvaṭṭe, beḷargempu, taḷirdōraṇam,
bemarvani, alarjompū, kadirjonnam.

ḷ

muguḷgāy, amaḷdongal, esaḷvase, amaḷjantram

"Slack consonants occur in compounds when the affixes -da, -dapa, and -va, the suffix -ge of the third person optative (vidhi), or the suffix -gum of the third person present or future are joined to a verb which has a short syllable in the beginning and ends in ḷ, ḻ or r".

SDS 54

For polysyllabic roots ending in ḷ, ḻ and r and having a short vowel, if the affixes -da (past), -dapa (present), -va (future), and -ge of the third person optative, and -gum indicating present or future are added, the verb forms become slack.

Examples:

ḷ

jaguḷdan, jaguḷdapan, jaguḷvan.

tega|ge, nega|ge, poga|ge.
tega|gum, nega|gum, poga|gum.

l

nusu|dan, nusu|dapan, nusu|van.
nusu|ge, masu|ge, nusu|gum,
masu|gum.

In some places, there is no slackness

tera|dam, pora|dam.

r

toḍardan, nimirdan, nimirdapan, nimirvan
toḍarge, adirge, bidirge, eḍarge
amargum, nimirgum

If a long consonant, there is no slackness

ardam, sārdam, pārdam.

"Slack consonants are inherent in the words bardila (the name of heaven), gardugu, amarduvali, kampalardudu, erdevāy, adirmutte, erde". These words have slackness of consonants inherently.

SDS 55

It is seen that slackness occurs in four environments. These are:

- i) If the suffixes -ga| and -ge are added to the nominal bases ending in l, ḷ and r and having a short vowel, there is slackness.
- ii) In compounds where the first member ends in g, d, j or v, there is slackness.
- iii) In verbs containing the suffixes like -da- -dapa- -va-, the suffix -gum indicating the present or future, and the optative -ge, there is slackness.
- iv) In words where r is found with d.

In the above four environments where slackness is found, one feature is common, i.e. the words terminate in either l, ḷ or r. It means that slackness is found in the double consonants, where the first member is either l, ḷ or r. The second member is d in the majority of cases, g next in order followed by j or v rarely. This v is developed from p in compounds, e.g. bema + pani = bema + rani. Of these four environments, the slackness found in the words erde, bardila etc.,

is termed natural. In other words, it has resulted after a compound-ing process. In addition to the environments listed by Kēṣirāja, sithiladitva occurs with l also.¹²⁵

If we consider the present pronunciation of the stops, it is seen that it is tense (kaṭhina) in the beginning of the word, and lax (saraḷa) between two vowels.

Examples:

pati, peṭṭige, baḷe, baṇṇa, tamma, ātanu, dāna, nadi, tāku, pāṭe, caluvu, ḷala, jaḷaka, rāja, koḍu, hāku, guru, uguru.

In all these words the stop at the beginning of the word requires greater effort, and so is tense; and the stop in the middle of the word does not require much force and hence is lax. In consonant clusters, where equal effort was found, both consonants were pronounced fully; and such clusters were written in old Kannada with the consonant repeated.

Examples:

arddakkaṇḍuga, avargge, idarkke, irkkuḷa, irppattu, ūrgge.¹²⁶

But this distinction of writing the double consonant with rāpha and dīṭva as above, began to be lost in writing in due course. There are instances of words which, where double consonants are to be written have a single consonant.

Examples:

apudu, geye.¹²⁷

Perhaps, this was the reason why Kēṣirāja gave the list of words having double consonants, and had to give rules for the double consonants where one consonant was pronounced softly.

In the 'slackness of consonants', the first member, which is either l, ḷ or r is pronounced softly. There is a short release after this member, before the second consonant is pronounced. But what about the quality of the second consonant which is either d, g, j, or v? One feature is common. That is, all these consonants which occur as second members of this cluster were stops. Did the quality of these stop consonants change in slackness? We have noted that the stop at the beginning is tense, and between two vowels is lax. It is fricativized after l, ḷ and r. That is, a stop coming after l, ḷ and r becomes a

fricative.¹²⁸ But this was not so in all environments. It was subject to a definite condition. Hence, it was not given the status of a phoneme. The symbols for these fricatives are *ḍ* and *ṣ*. These were the allophones of phonemes *d* and *g*. This may be represented as follows:

[ḍ]	occurs after <i>ḷ, ḻ</i> and <i>r</i> (e.g., <i>er ḍ e</i> , <i>tegal ḍ am</i> , <i>nusuḷ ḍ am</i>)
/d/	
[d]	occurs elsewhere (e.g. <i>dāri</i> , <i>dīpa</i>)
[ṣ]	occurs after <i>ḷ, ḻ</i> and <i>r</i> (e.g., <i>tegalṣe</i> , <i>nusḷṣe</i> , <i>adiriṣe</i>)
/g/	
[g]	occurs elsewhere (e.g., <i>gāḷi</i> , <i>magaḷu</i>)

What is the reason for this slackness in a cluster? Is it because of the shift of stress? The stress on a syllable other than the first (e.g., *negāḷte*, *nīrgāḷ*, *karpūm*, *ārdām*, etc.) was shifted to the first syllable (e.g. *jāgulḍam*, *tāgaḷve*, *bārḍila*, *āmarḍam*, etc.).¹²⁹ This fact has to be further investigated.

The fricativisation of the stops in the slack double consonants appears to be a remnant of the Dravidian feature, where, in such environments the stops were fricativized.¹³⁰

We can establish the nasal consonants in the light of the above. Of the twenty-five consonants listed by Kēśirāja, five are nasal consonants. But we could show that there are only three nasal phonemes. Hence, his 'varga' letters are reduced by two. Of the twenty-three consonants, it has been shown that aspirated sounds are not inherent in Kannada. The aspirated sounds listed by Kēśirāja are ten. They are *kh*, *gh*, *ch*, *jh*, *ṭh*, *ḍh*, *th*, *dh*, *ph*, *bh*. They are to be deducted from the traditional list. Aspirates deducted from the list of consonants come to thirteen.

Of the 'avarga' consonants, Kēśirāja himself, after deduction, has established nine consonants. They are *y*, *r*, *ṛ*, *l*, *ḷ*, *ḻ*, *w*, *s*, *h*. The total number of consonants is $13+9=22$. Including the ten vowels the inventory of Kannada 'varṇas' is 32. The final list is as follows:

vowels	- 10	<i>a</i> , <i>ā</i> , <i>i</i> , <i>ī</i> , <i>u</i> , <i>ū</i> , <i>e</i> , <i>ē</i> , <i>o</i> , <i>ō</i> .
varga letters	- 13	<i>k</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>j</i> , <i>ṭ</i> , <i>ḍ</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>d</i> , <i>p</i> , <i>b</i> , <i>m</i> , <i>n</i> , <i>ṇ</i> .
avarga letters	- 9	<i>y</i> , <i>r</i> , <i>ṛ</i> , <i>l</i> , <i>ḷ</i> , <i>ḻ</i> , <i>w</i> , <i>s</i> , <i>h</i> .
	—	
Total	32	

The letters may be rearranged according to the point of articulation, etc., in the case of consonants: advancement, height of the tongue, etc. in the case of vowels.

Vowels

<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>ē</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>ō</i>
		<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	

Consonants

<i>pb</i>	<i>td</i>	<i>ṭḍ</i>	<i>cj</i>	<i>kg</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ṇ</i>		
	<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>	
	<i>r</i>	<i>ṛ</i>		
	<i>l</i>	<i>ḷ</i>		
<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>	

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 The numbers of the sūtras are according to the *S'abdamāṇidarpaṇa*, (1964) edited by D. L. Narasimhachar.
- 2 Mundakopaniṣad, 1.1.5.
- 3 SDS 9.
- 4 Gleason, H. A., *Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, p. 249.
- 5 Biligiri, H. S., *Āloka*, p. 20.
- 6 SDS 44.
- 7 Allen, W. S., *Phonetics in Ancient India*, p. 17.
- 8 Hockett, C. F., *CML*, p. 69.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 SDS 40.
- 11 SDS 20.
- 12 SDS 20.—In this chapter *S'abda* for sound, *Varṇa* for letter, and *Akṣara* for syllable are used.
- 13 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 17. —*yad upakramyate tat sthānam*.
- 14 Hockett, C. F., *CML*, p. 69.
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 Many scholars include sounds of *t*- class, except *n* in the alveolar series.
- 18 Gleason, H. A., *IDL*, p. 21.
- 19 *Ibid.*
- 20 SDS 26.
- 21 Bloch, B. & Trager, L., *An Introduction to Linguistic Analysis* p. 29.
- 22 Gleason, H. A., *IDL*, p. 262.
- 23 SDS 12.
- 24 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 15. —Whilst it there has much in common with the modern term 'Phoneme', no phonemic theory is implied by it, and it would be reading too much and too little into the term thus to translate it.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 14. —The term *anunāsika* is used, as opposed to the *śuddha* vowels.

- 26 Kāśirāja while listing the Kannada *varṇas* states that *y*, *w*, and *l* are both *anunāsika* and *niranunāsika* but he does not include the nasal sounds in the *śuddhage*.
- 27 Robins, R. H., *General Linguistics: An Introductory Survey*, p. 137.
- 28 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 29. —*savyanjanah sānusrāḥ śuddho vāpi svarō akṣaram* — R. P. XVIII. 32.
- 29 Hockett, C. F., *CML*, p. 540. —In a phonemic writing system, graphic shapes are assigned in an arbitrary fashion to the phonemes (phonemic system) or to some sort of recurrent combinations of phonemes (syllables).
- 30 SDS 26.
- 31 Gleason, H. A., *IDL*, p. 9.
- 32 Hockett, C. F., *CML*, p. 15.
- 33 SDS 13.
- 34 SDS 14.
- 35 SDS 41.
- 36 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 80 —*sāpekṣam svarastu nirapekṣaḥ* . . . 1, I p, XXI. 1.
- 37 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, (f. n. 7) —*svayaṁ rājante svarāḥ*.
- 38 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 81.
- 39 Varma, Sidheswara, *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, p. 55.
- 40 Bloomfield, L., *Language*, p. 102.
- 41 Bloch, B. & Trager, L., *ILA*, p. 18.
- 42 Varma, Sidheswara, *CSPO*, p. 57.
- 43 Hockett, C. F., *CML*, p. 67.
- 44 *Ibid.*, —The use of terms 'vocoid' and 'contoid' enables us to reserve the terms 'vowel' and 'consonant' as labels for structurally defined classes of phonemes in specific languages.
- 45 Pike, K. L., *Phonetics*, p. 143.
- 46 Hockett, C. F., *Manual of phonology*, p. 109.
- 47 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 16. —*anusvāro visargaśca ṣka-ṣpau cāpi parāśrayau*, P. S. 5.
- 48 *Ibid.*, p. 17. —*katham punar ayōgavāhaḥ: yad ayuktā vahanty anupadiṣṭāśca śrūyantē*. —*Mahābhāṣya*, 1. 1. 2.
- 49 *Ibid.*, (f. n. 4)

- 50 These vowels are not in Kannada. Yet, strangely enough they are included in Kannada orthography (*Author*).
- 51 SDS 267.
- 52 *Ibid.*
- 53 In present Kannada usage, in refined speech, the pronunciation of ṣ is often noticed. Exp. *Aṣṭu*, *Iṣṭu*, etc.
- 54 Billigiri, H. S., *Āloka*, p. 37.
- 55 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 83. – *mātra hrasvaḥ: dve dīrghaḥ; tritaḥ pluta ucyate avaraḥ* – R. P. 1. 55. 58.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 84.
- 57 *Ibid.*, p. 80. – One result of this phonological interdependence of syllable and vowel is that the term *akṣara* is frequently extended to mean vowel. – *Mahābhāṣya*, 1. 1. 2.
- 58 Whitney, W. D., *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 28. The description in terms between the difference of long and short in vowel sound and that of heavy and light in syllable-construction is valuable and should be observed.
- 59 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 85. & Varma, Siddheshwara *CSPO*, p. 91.
- 60 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 86. R. P. XVIII. 41–44.
- 61 Varma, Siddheshwara, *CSPO*, p. 61. – For discussion on syllabic division.
- 62 *Ibid.*, p. 180. – A distinction is made between a pluta and vṛddha vowel. So, when a short vowel becomes pluta, it is aptly called pluta ('having jumped' – from plu – 'to jump') owing to the abrupt change that it underwent. But, when a long vowel becomes pluta, it is called only vṛddha ('increased'), the change being comparatively graduated.
- 63 Gleason, H. A., *IDL*, p. 254. – Diphthongs may be considered as vowels in which there is appreciable change of quality during the course of their pronunciation.
- 64 *Ibid.*, p. 255.
- 65 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 63. – *ardhamātrātukaṇṭhyasya ekārauk-ārayor bhavet: aikār aukāreyor mātṛā...*
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 64. – *mātrāyoḥ samayoḥ kṣīrodakavat samsargāt na jñayate kvāvarṇa – mātṛā kva vevārṇavarṇyor iti.*
- 67 *Ibid.*, p. 64. – *ivarṇe yathā jivhā – madhyopasamhāra na khalv evam ekāre kimtutato nyūna ity arthaḥ: kutaḥ: akāra-miśritatvād ekārasya.*

- 68 Gleason, H. A., *IDL*, p. 254.
- 69 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 62. – *Avestan vaeda besides Sanskrit veda.*
- 70 Varma, Siddheshwara, *CSPO*, p. 180.
- 71 *Ibid.*, p. 180. *Mahabhaṣya*, VIII. 2. 106.
- 72 *Ibid.*
- 73 *Ibid.*
- 74 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 63.
- 75 (a) Sediyaṇu, Krishnabhatta, – *Kannada varṇagalu*. – For exhaustive treatment of ai and au. (b) *Kannada Kaypidi*, p. 137. and (c) Kulkarni, P. G., *Kannada Bhāṣeya Charitre*, p. 145.
- 76 Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, p. 136.
- 77 Kulkarni, P. G., *KBC*, p. 145. – Refer for examples.
- 78 Pujar, M. P., *Kelavu Kannada Vyākaraṇa Vicāragalu*, p. 12. According to Pundit Pujar, there are twentyfive Kannada varṇas.
- 79 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 38. – *bhūyān prathamebhyonyeṣu*. T. P. II. 11.
- 80 Bloch, B., & Trager, L., *ILA*, p. 32.
- 81 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 34. – *samṛte kaṇṭhe nādaḥ kriyate: vivṛte śvāsaḥ* – T. P. II. 4–5.
- 82 *Ibid.*, p. 34. – *śvāsoghoṣeṣv anupradānaḥ: nādo ghoṣavat svareṣu.*
- 83 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 34. (f. n. 2.)
- 84 Bhat, M. M., *Kannada Sanskriti*, p. 324.
- 85 *Ibid.*
- 86 Basavanal, S. S., & Kepu, S. N., (Ed.) *Karnataka Bhasha Bhushana, –nātra prāyeṇa varṇāṇām dvitīyacaturthāḥ: prāyeṇetivacanāt samkhyānuraṇanādau dṛṣyante.*
- 87 *Kannada Kaypidi*, (pt. I), p. 317.
- 88 Raghunatharao, R., *Karṇāṭaka Vyākaraṇōpanyāsa Manjari*, p. 22.
- 89 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 39. (a) *nāsikāvivaraṇādānunasikyam*, T. P. II. 52. (b) *anunāsikam mukhanāsikam*, A. P. 1. 27.
- 90 Fry, A. H., *Language*, Vol. XVII, 1941. – *A Phonemic Interpretation of Visarga.*
- 91 Shankaran, C. R., *Some Problems in Kannada Linguistics*, p. 18. The Tamil 'aytam' (represented in the alphabetical system as .:) is commonly considered as identical with visarga.

- 92 SDS 21.
- 93 T. P. 16. – *vyañjanam svarāṅgam*.
- 94 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 43. – *anusvāro vyañjanam vā*.
- 95 Caldwell, *CGD*, p. 167. Kulkarni, P. G. differs from Caldwell. see *KBC*, p. 146.
- 96 (a) Kulli, J. S., *Karnataka Bhārati*, Vol. I, Pt. I. *Kannada Bhāṣeyalli Bindu*. (b) Biligiri, H. S., *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. 16. – *The nasal Phonemes in Kannada*.
- 97 Malwad, S. S., *Prabhudha Karnāṭaka*, Vol. 45. Pt. IV – There are many controversies raised for this sūtra.
- 98 *Ibid.*, and Biligiri, H. S., *Āloka*, p. 35.
- 99 Kalburgi, M. M., *Jayanthi* (Sept. 1964), – *Kṣaṣasūtra*.
- 100 Kalburgi, M. M., *Journal of Karnatak University, Humanities*, Vol. IX. – *Darpaṇāvalokana*.
- 101 SDS 29.
- 102 Gowda, K. K. *PK*, Vol. 43–3.
- 103 Allen, W. S., *PAI*, p. 52. – *mūrdhanyānām jihvāgram prati veṣṭitam*. – A. P. 1.22.
- 104 *Ibid.*, p. 74. – *syurmūrdhanyār - ṭu - ra - ṣāḥ*.
- 105 Varma, Siddheshwara, *CSPO*, p. 6.
- 106 Srikanthayya, T. N., *PK*, Vol. 23. Pt. 2. – In other Dravidian languages like Tamil, Telugu etc., it is dental.
- 107 Taraporwala, I. J. H., *Elements of the Science of Language*, p. 244.
- 108 Jones, D., *An Outline of English Phonetics*, p. 179.
- 109 Caldwell, *CGDL*, p. 144.
- 110 *Ibid.*
- 111 *Ibid.*
- 112 Narasimhaiah, A. N., *Grammar of old Kannada Inscriptions*, p. 25.
- 113 Gai, G. S., *Historical Grammar of old Kannada*, p. 15.
- 114 Sankaran, C. R., *SPKL*, p. 15.
- 115 Kulkarni, P. G., *KBC*, p. 152. – it's pronunciation may be somewhere between t and ṭ.
- 116 SDS (Madrās Univ. Edn.) Intr. p. 59.
- 117 Sediyaṭu, Krishnabhatta, *KV*, p. 113.

- 118 Panchatantra of Durgasimha.
- 119 Sediyaṭu, Krishnabhatta, *KV*, p. 116.
- 120 Biligiri, H. S., *Āloka*, p. 133. – At present *kuṇṭani* and *kavunkuḷ* retain nasality.
- 121 Gowda, K. K., *PK*, Vol. 43.3., *Darpaṇāvalōkana*.
- 122 SDS.
- 123 *antyād varṇāt pūrvam upadhā*. V. P. 1.35.
- 124 Gowda, K. K., *PK*, Vol. 43.3. – Slackness occurs after | also as found in *Gadayuddha*.
- 125 *Ibid.*
- 126 *Ibid.*
- 127 *Ibid.*
- 128 I am grateful to Dr. K. K. Gowda who in response to my suggestion that these are fricative sounds, brought to my notice his article 'Darpaṇāvalōkana', *PK*, Vol. 43.3.
- 129 Shrikanthaiah, B. M., *PK*, Vol. 27.1. – *Purvada Halagannada mattu Tamiḷu*.
- 130 Even today in Tamil, we can see the stops becoming fricatives between two vowels (e. g. mahan) and after r (e. g. māṛḇu) and (paṇaḷaḷ) etc. In Kannada also the word *ahudu* contains fricative.

* * *

4

SANDHI

“The joining of two or more varṇas to each other is called euphonic combination (Sandhi). In Sandhi, consonants without the vowel enter the following varṇas.”

SDS 59

Examples:

Consonants with vowels:

kūrtu + īvam = kūrtīvam
enna + arasan = ennarasan
munne + iṅivam = munnigivam

Consonants without vowels:

jāṇ + uṇṭu = jāṇuṇṭu
kuruḷ + konkāytu = kuruḷkonkāytu

There are two different types of sandhi which are “Padamadhya (internal) sandhi: and Padāntya (external) sandhi. The first occurs within a word when the nominal base or verbal theme takes a suffix. The second occurs when one word joins with another”.

SDS 60

The joining of the base and the suffix is called internal (padamadhya) sandhi, and the joining of two independent words is called external (padāntya) sandhi.

Examples:

Padamadhya sandhi:

mātu + am = mātam
mātu + im = mātim
nuḍida + am = nuḍidam

Padāntya sandhi:

avana + aḷtanam = avanāḷtanam
kāmana + aṇḍale = kāmanaṇḍale
māḍidar + avar = māḍidaravar

“This is the first section. The explanation of all the terms may not be found here. They will be explained along with the sūtras in the relevant sections”.

SDS 61

In the first sūtra under consideration, Kēśirāja defines Sandhi as the joining of two or more varṇas. Joining of two varṇas is all right for a Sandhi. But what about joining of more than two varṇas? There are certain examples given for a wrong Sandhi. In sūtra 69, the example for the Sandhi fault is: barisi pradhānaram, kuḷḷirisi priya etc.

In these examples, after the vowel in the final position of the first word, the second word starts with a consonant cluster -pr. He says that a Sandhi of this type is faulty. When he says ‘palavum varṇam’, Kēśirāja perhaps is having such examples in mind, in addition to examples like ‘vidvitstri’ etc.

SDS 73

After explaining the Sandhi phenomenon and its kinds, Kēśirāja explains the Sandhi rules governing Kannada:

“Elision of vowels at the end of inflected and un-inflected words, both in Sanskrit and Kannada, generally takes place before vowels, when such elision does not make the meaning uncertain.”

SDS 62

That is, if there is a vowel in the final position of the first word and in the initial position of the second word, the first vowel is dropped provided the meaning is not affected.

Examples:

Sanskrit suffix vowel:

kramade + āytu = kramadāytu
īśvarana + olavu = īśvaranolavu

Kannada suffix vowel:

neladinde + uṇbam = neladinduṇbam
lēsinge + oḍeyam = lēsingoḍeyam

Vowel of the verbal suffix :

māḍidevu + oḷpam = māḍidevoḷpam

Vowel in the base :

arasa + āḷ = arasāḷ

baḍabaḍa + ādam = baḍabaḍādam

There is no Sandhi when it affects the structure.

Examples :

paṭu + ākavākyam = paṭuākavākyam

vidhu + idu = vidhuvidu

Though divided into Sanskrit and Kannada and again into base and suffix vowels, there is no difference in the Sandhi. The distinction is only technical.

“y is inserted after ā, i, ī, o, ai, e, ē, and a, after a when it is an affix of the genitive and followed by the emphasizing e.”

SDS 63

Examples :

Insertion of

y after ā : ā + irda = āyirda

i : kali + ār = kaliyār

bali + am = baliyam

ī : ī + al = īyal

śrī + am = śrīyam

ō : nō + isu = nōyisu

ai : dai + endum = daiyendum

e : toṛe + am = toṛeyam

ē : tē + isidam = tēyisidam

Emphasis : avaḷe + e = avaḷeye

“y is inserted between the Sanskrit or Kannada themes with final a and the affix -isu; y is also inserted after imitative sounds with final a”.

SDS 64

“When the vowel u, ū, ṛi, ṛī, o, or au is succeeded by another vowel, v is inserted. The insertion of y or v in Sanskrit is not arbitrary.”

SDS 65

By saying that there is no arbitrariness regarding the insertion of y or v in Sanskrit, Kāṣirāja implies the arbitrary insertion of y or v in Kannada.

Examples :

Compulsory insertion in Kannada :

before

u : kuḍu + udu = kuḍuvudu

manu + in + a = manuvina

ū : pū + in + a = pūvina

ṛi : bhrātṛi + e = bhrātṛive

ṛī : ṛī + endam = ṛīvendam

o : gō + am = gōvam

gō + idam = gōvidam

au : nau + am + ēṛidan = nauvanēṛidan

Non-Compulsory insertion :

otte + iṭṭam = ottiṭṭam, otteyiṭṭam

tagave + appoḍe = tagaveyappoḍe, tagavappoḍe

mātu + ellam = mātuvellam, mātellam

sovaḍu + ondu = sovaḍuvondu, sovaḍondu

Compulsory insertion in Sanskrit :

surasindhuvu

vidhuvilladiruḷ

“There is no Sandhi when a word denoting a particle (nipāta), emphasis (avadhāraṇe), or doubt (viśanke) and ending in the vowel e, ē, o or ō is followed by a vowel. Sandhi does not take place when a pluta-ending word is followed by a vowel.”

SDS 66

Examples :

particle : arame aḷalda, elē idalte, are eḍe

emphasis : nuḍidane adu, ātane indram

doubt : ivane aḷ, āneyo adriyo

pluta : rāmā ā endu, kūū endu

“Sandhi does not take place when ō ending words expressing approval or reproach, the word *ema* expressing consent, and the a which comes in the place of *gaḍā* (surprise) are followed by vowels. Sandhi does not take place in lamentation also.”

SDS 67

Examples :

approval	: ententō ṁdine
reproach	: eḍaridanō avana, muttidanō inde
consent	: singamakkema anjen . . .
surprise (a)	: pālā amardā inidu gaḍā
lamentation	: ayyō akkaṭā

“When the words poṛagu, oḷagu, posatu, paḷadu and eḷadu, after dropping their final syllables ku, gu, tu and du respectively, are followed by a vowel, Sandhi does not take place.”

SDS 68

Examples :

poṛa aḍi, oḷa aṭṭam
posa aḍake, paḷa alagu
eḷa ance

“When the initial varṇa of the second word is doubled and the final varṇa of the first is short, the Sandhi that is made is faulty. If the initial varṇa of the second word is a consonant with r, this doubled consonant is considered as slack.” Kēśirāja states about the faulty Sandhi.

SDS 69

Examples :

barisi pradhanaram, kuḷḷirisi priya

consonant with r :

miṛuguttirpa triṣūlam, praṇayade tripathage

“Persons who do not discriminate allow such usages in prose compositions, saying that in prose such strictness is not necessary. On the other hand, those who discriminate do not allow such usages either in prose or in verse compositions.”

SDS 70

Kēśirāja rebukes persons who make use of faulty Sandhi. The faulty Sandhi here is: making a Sandhi between the first-word-final short vowel and the second-word-initial double consonant.

“Sandhi is optional for the word *kare* when it is followed by *al*, and *ira* followed by *ade*. Sandhi is also optional in the case of a half-verse or a quotation from Sanskrit, or when imitative sounds are

followed by a vowel. In words followed by *ri*, Sandhi again is optional.”

SDS 71

Examples :

kare + altemey = meykareyal — meygareyal
ira + ade = irade

quotation

no sandhi : kēnārthī kō daridraḥ enutum
for sandhi : an dēva carītam carētenisidai

imitation

no sandhi : kavakkava ene
sandhi : chummembra, chaṭachaṭemba

ri

no sandhi : esegum ṛijvāgatam

rī

sandhi : sarasamṛijuvira

“There is no Sandhi where it creates a bad expression and spoils the structure.”

SDS 72

The idea expressed here is extra-grammatical. Grammatically, there is no bar to Sandhi just because the resultant form gives a different meaning, bad meaning, or the current form is spoiled. He points out such areas so that the layman could understand.

Examples :

faulty sandhi :

taru + ḍakkege = taruḍakkege
taru + ḍāṇege = taruḍāṇege
hēlatākōmalāṅgi

visandhi :

ponna andaḷam

“When there are two r's, Sandhi will not form, as the Sandhi will be harsh to hear.” This is also in line with the above sūtra. That is, Kēśirāja stating in general, not from the point of view of grammar.

SDS 73

Examples :

rēphadvitva : bandarrāmar, dēvarrakṣisuge
harsh to hear : vidvitstrīyar

Such Sandhi, according to Kēśirāja should be avoided.

"There is Sandhi when the e of emphasis gives the sense of action and the particles give the sense of proximity, or the sense of part of the object."

SDS 74

Examples :

aniyoga sandhi : māmāranalladilla, malligeyalladilla
niyoga visandhi : māmāranade
'are' of part : dhareyareyam

Aniyoga means no action. Niyoga means action. 'aniyogavyavahriti' means using though there is no necessity. In the examples māmāranallade-illa and malligeyallade-illa, according to Kēśirāja, the e at the end of the first word is for emphasis. But here it has no function. There is Sandhi: i.e., the elision of e. Hence, it is aniyoga sandhi.

In māmāranade - inidappa e has a function. Hence it is niyoga visandhi. In dhareyare - am, according to sūtra 66, there should not be Sandhi. Here, its meaning is "half" and not "many". Hence there is Sandhi. All this about 'are' amounts to this, that there is no sandhi if used in the sense of "many", whereas there is sandhi if used in the sense of "half". Such statements will be difficult to accept in modern linguistics.

Sandhi in consonants

"The first varṇas of the varga excepting c and ṭ become third varṇas in samāsa."

SDS 75

In the samāsa, k, t, p become g, d, b

Examples :

paḷa + kaṇṇaḍa = paḷagaṇṇaḍa
kaṇ + teravu = kaṇderavu
kaṇ + pari = kaṇbari

Kēśirāja is aware of the exceptions to this rule : talekaṭṭu, besekōl, ādupandi.

c and ṭ do not change to j and ḍ

Examples :

kaḍu + cāgi = kaḍucāgi
kaḍu + ṭakku = kaḍuṭakku

"k, t, p coming after ondu, eraḍu, after r substituted for ṛ, ḷ (ṛa ḷa) coming in place of ḍ, will not change to g, d, b."

SDS 76

Examples :

ondu : orkkaisi, orpiḍi
eraḍu : irkōḍiyum, irtalegōjam
r : mārkorālabhairavam, mārtaḷe, ērpettarērpettaram
ḷ or ḍ : kāḷkiccu, kōḷkuṭṭi, nāḷtuḍuguṇi, nāḷpagaraṇam

The linkage -am in ṛaḷakkam also permits kiḷ of keḷagaṇ e.g. kiḷkeṇe.

"Whether there is a vowel or an unmutated consonant, the following p becomes v in samāsa. By bahulagrahaṇa it applies to the sentence also."

SDS 77

Examples :

eḷa + peṛe = eḷaveṛe
miḷirpa + eḷavallī = miḷirveḷavallī
beḷe + pola = beḷevola

p → v after natural consonant :

bāy + paṛe = bōyvaṛe
bār + perasi = bērverasi

No v for mutated consonant :

kiḷ + poḍe = kiḷpoḍe
ir + bāl = irbāl

There is no v in some cases between an unmutated consonant and a vowel.

Examples :

p : palpaṛeguṭṭidam, pūpuṇumbu
b : kaṇbiḍu, kaṇbēṭam
m : pālmane, bālmone

By bahulagrahaṇa v in sentence :

tamarūrge + pōpa = tamarūrgevoṇpa
kelasakke + barpa = kelasakkevarpa

"S following consonants other than y and l, becomes mostly c. In some cases there is j, in some other cases where it is numeral, it is always ch."

SDS 78

Examples :

s → c : nun + sarada = nuncarada
s → j : pon + surige = ponjurige
s → ch : padineṇchāsira

Optionally, s remains as s :

Examples :

kaṇṣōlam,
paraveṇsuravadhu
pavaṇsari
kiḷsarige
beḷsari

No change for y and l :

bāysavige, melsaram

By bahulagrahaṇa, s after a vowel also becomes c or j.

Examples :

muccere, muccāl, tuḍujodar

'tuḍujoḍar' is the correct example for the sūtra, as there is a vowel in the final position of the first word. But the same is not true of the other two, because their two components will be 'muc-sere' and 'muc-sāl'. The form 'muc-' is a mutation form of 'mūṇu'. Hence, the examples refer to the mutation form of 'mūṇu'. If so, it is according to the rule, viz., occurrence of consonant other than y and l. Hence, there is no necessity of 'bahulagrahana'.

"If there is a short vowel in the first word, and a vowel follows, n, ṇ, l, y and ḷ are doubled. If the first vowel is long or the word is indeclinable or polysyllabic, there is no doubling."

SDS 79

Examples :

nn : pon + uḷḷavane = ponnuḷḷavane
ṇṇ : kaṇ + am = kaṇṇam
ll : kal + ellam = kallellam
yy : mey + a = meyya
ḷḷ : muḷ + āgi = muḷḷāgi

No doubling where there is long vowel :

n : tān + e = tāne mīn + āgi = mīnāgi
ṇ : nāṇ + am = nāṇam jān + am = jāṇam
l : kēl + am = kēlam kōl + am = kōlam
y : tāy + orvaḷ = tāyorvaḷ bāy + oḷ = bāyoḷ
ḷ : āḷ + āḷ = āḷāḷ tōḷ + ātam = tōḷātam

indeclinable :

kali + dal + ivam = kalidalivam

polysyllabic word :

saraṇ + ārum = saraṇārum
paraḷ + ellam = paralellam

In some indeclinable, there is doubling

in + um = innum
in + āvudu = innāvudu

Kēṣirāja now gives the exceptions to the rules in the next two sūtras : "After the root ending in n, ṇ, l, y, ḷ if -al comes, there is no doubling. After -y ending roots Sandhi is optional. After the roots uy, ney, suy, bay, even if -al comes and vowel follows, doubling is compulsory."

SDS 80

Examples :

no doubling :

en + al + takkam = enaltakkam
tin + al = tinal
kol + al = kolal

y :

poy + al + um = poyalum — poyyalum
gey + al + um = geyalum — geyyalum

According to the previous sūtra, even if the initial vowel is long, though it is polysyllabic, if -al or any other vowel comes after 'āray' optionally it is doubled.

āray + al + um = ārayalum — ārayyalum
ārayim — ārayyim, āraye — ārayye

compulsory doubling :

uyyalum, neyyalum suyyalum, bayyalum

Vowel of tense suffix :

uyyam, neyyam suyyam, bayyam

"Even if the suffix comes after the negative root, or 'ade' comes after the past tense form, n, ṇ, y, l, ḷ are doubled always."

SDS 81

The statement, 'No doubling if the previous word contains a long vowel, or it is polysyllabic' applies here also.

Examples :

suffix :

en + am = ennam
en + ar = ennar
bay + evu = bayyevu

'ade'

en + ade = ennade
tin + ade = tinnade

According to the clause implied by 'also', there is no doubling for kaḷ.

Examples :

kaḷ + al = kaḷal
kaḷ + ade = kaḷade

Kāśirāja defines Sandhi as 'the joining of two or more varṇas.' The etymological meaning of Sandhi is 'to join' from 'sam+dhā' with noun-formative suffix-i. Another equivalent for Sandhi viz., saṁhitā, is also from the same root. Sandhi means pronouncing two (or more) words without any pause between them. Pāṇini defines saṁhitā as 'parassannikarṣassamhitā' (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 1.4.109). Patanjali's explanation of this sūtra is: After pronouncing the first varṇa, if for the pronunciation of the second one, half the mātrā time that is usually required, is not taken, it is called Sandhi.

Kāśirāja divides the Sandhi phenomenon into many types. There is a binary division into internal and external Sandhi. The internal Sandhi is between the base and the suffix. For example, mātu + am = mātām. The Sandhi that takes place between two words is called external Sandhi. For example, avana + āḷtanam = avanāḷtanam.

Again, he divides the Sandhi into vowel Sandhi and consonant Sandhi. Vowel Sandhi is where varṇas in question are vowels. For example, avana + ivana = avanivana. Consonant Sandhi is where one of the varṇas in question is a consonant. For example, jāṇ + uṇṇu = jāṇuṇṇu. Technically, four types can be recognised in Sandhi. They are :

- vowel + vowel Sandhi
- vowel + consonant Sandhi
- consonant + vowel Sandhi and
- consonant + consonant Sandhi

The first is a vowel Sandhi, and the rest are consonant Sandhis. He also has dvitva Sandhi, where the consonant in conjunction with a vowel is doubled. For example, pon + uḷḷa = ponnuḷḷa.

There is also another division in Sandhi, viz., lōpa Sandhi, āgama Sandhi, and ādēśa Sandhi. Lōpa Sandhi is where one of the vowels is dropped. As elision takes place only in the case of vowels, it is also called svaralōpa Sandhi. For example, avana + āḷtanam = avanāḷtanam. In āgama Sandhi a new varṇa comes between the vowels without affecting the form of the word. For example, ā + irda = ayirda, ī + al = īyal. In ādēśa Sandhi a different form is substituted. For example, keḷgaṇa + poṭṭe = kiḷpoṭṭe.

After considering the definition and other aspects of Sandhi, the information on Sandhi furnished by Kāśirāja may be summarised as follows :

Areas where Sandhi does not take place :

- a) There is no Sandhi if a vowel comes after a pluta vowel.

Example :

kūū + endu = kūūendu

- b) If ṛi and ḷi come after vowel like a, there is no Sandhi.

Example :

a + ṛikāram

- c) If after ā, a, ai, or au occur, no Sandhi takes place.

Examples :

ā arasam, ā aiśvaryam, ā aunyatyam.

- d) If a vowel follows a vowel-ending particle, no Sandhi takes place.

Example :

are + eḍe

e) If a vowel comes after the a-ending forms of posatu, poṛagu, oḷagu, paḷadu, and eḷadu, there is no Sandhi.

Examples :

poṛa + aḍi, oḷa + aṭṭam

f) There is no Sandhi when o-ending words expressing consent etc. are followed by vowels.

Examples :

ententō + ōdina. muttidanō + inde. ayyō + akkaṭa.

g) In the samāsas, if c and ṭ are in the initial position of the second word no Sandhi takes place.

Examples :

kaḍucāgi, kaḍuṭakku

h) If after l and r which are the result of mutation, k, t, p occur they do not change to g, d, b.

Examples :

mārkōl, kāḷkiccu, kīḷpoṭṭe

j) If it is intolerable to the ears no Sandhi takes place.

Examples :

āse + ganitā

k) If it jars on the ears no Sandhi takes place.

Example :

bandarrāmar

Barring the above places, Sandhi takes place regularly.

There are also areas where the Sandhi is optional. Sandhi is optional in the following environments :

a) If 'ade' comes after 'ir' :

Example :

ira + ade = irade - iraade

b) If 'al' comes after 'kare' :

Example :

kare + al = kareyal - kareal

c) After the words 'gaḍa' etc. :

Example :

nīnallade + āvam = nīnalladāvam - nīnalladeāvam

d) In sentence : kaḷ kārthī kō daridraḥ enitanitum (no sandhi)
na dēva caritam caretēnisiday (sandhi)

The treatment of Sandhi by Kēśirāja reveals that it is a mixture of both formal and non-formal aspects; sometimes, he takes form into consideration, sometimes meaning. So, it suffers from the point of view of precision. An attempt will be made to present the Sandhi phenomenon on the formal basis.

Sandhi rules on the basis of form are as follows :

a) After dysyllabic words ending in a, i, u and preceded by a long vowel, if a vowel occurs, the previous vowel is dropped :

Examples :

dēva + emba = dēvemba

bhōga + isu = bhōgisu

lēsu + ellam = lēsellam

b) If, after dysyllabic words ending in a, i, u, there is a consonant cluster before the final vowel, or if there is a vowel, the previous vowel is dropped :

Examples :

hattu + eṇṭu = hattenṭu

alli + irdam = allirdam

bhanga + isu = bhangisu

c) After polysyllabic words ending in vowel, if another vowel comes, the previous one is dropped.

Examples :

kramade + āytu = kramadāytu

īśvarana + olavu = īśvaranolavu

māḍidevu + oḷpam = māḍidevoḷpam

d) If a vowel comes after a monosyllabic or dysyllabic word containing a short vowel at the beginning, either y or w is inserted.

i) If another vowel comes after a front vowel, y is inserted :

Examples :

kali + ār = kaliyār

pase + irdam = paseyirdam

ā + irdam = āyirdam

ī + al = īyal

tē + isu = tēyisu

- ii) If another vowel comes after a back or central vowel, v is inserted:

Examples:

vidhu + idu = vidhuvidu

manu + ina = manuvina

pū + ina = pūvina

kartṛi + āda = kartṛivāda

- e) The second component-initial k, t, p change to g, d, b. In a compound, (k, t, p between two vowels are changed to g, d, b.)

Examples:

paḷa + kaṇṇaḍa = paḷagaṇṇaḍa

aḷi + kavi = aḷigavi

kaṇ + teṇavu = kaṇdeṇavu

paṇe + kaṭṭum = paṇegaṭṭum

kaṇ + pari = kaṇbari

Exceptions:

talekaṭṭu, besekōl, ādupandi

- f) p, b, m between two vowels or between y, r, l, ḷ and a vowel are changed to v.

Examples:

eḷa + paṇe = eḷavaṇe

beḷe + pola = beḷevola

kaḍu + beḷpu = kaḍuveḷpu

mara + maṇega = maravaṇega

bāy + paṇe = bāyvaṇe

bēr + perasi = bērvēraṣi

mel + mātu = melvātu

bāl + peṇam = bālveṇam

- g) If the fricative comes after words ending in consonants other than y and l, it is changed to an affricate.

Examples:

nuṇ + sara = nuṇcara

in + sara = incara

pon + surige = ponjurige

mun + sūr = munjūr

nūṅ + sāsira = nūṅcāsira

ir + sāsira = ircāsira

- h) If a vowel comes after a consonant-ending word, the two are combined.

Example:

jāṇ + uṇṭu = jāṇuṇṭu

- i) If a vowel comes after a monosyllabic word ending in a consonant and having a short vowel, the consonant is doubled.

Examples:

kaṇ + am = kaṇṇam

pon + uḷḷava = ponnuḷḷava

kal + ellam = kallellam

mey + a = meyya

muḷ + āgi = muḷḷāgi

5

MORPHOLOGY

Morphology is the study of morphemes. The term morpheme is defined as 'The smallest individually meaningful element in the utterances of the language'.¹ Morphemes, like words, are the meaningful units in a language. To this extent, the morpheme and the word are alike. The requirement of the morpheme is that it should be the minimum unit. Those forms which cannot be broken further without losing meaning are the minimum meaningful units. For example, the word 'siritana'. This word, according to our definition, contains two morphemes, as the whole unit can be further divided into two units each having its own meaning, viz., 'siri' and 'tana'. These two units 'siri' and 'tana' are considered as morphemes, as it is not possible to further divide them into smaller units having a meaning. On the same lines, forms like 'giḍa', 'tinnu', 'ōdu' are also morphemes. Here, then, is the parting line for morpheme and word. The above example, 'siri-tana' is a word; 'giḍa', 'tinnu' etc. also are words. The main distinction between the morpheme and the word is that the morpheme is the smallest unit with meaning; whereas the word need not be the smallest unit. Hence, the word may contain more than one morpheme. Morphemes may be parts of words.

Another difference between the word and the morpheme is that the morpheme always represents one form; whereas the word may represent more than one forms. Forms like 'bhakta', 'patha', 'jana' are words as well as morphemes. So each form is a word. But in the examples

satpatha = sat + patha
sadbhakta = sat + bhakta
sanmārga = sat + mārga
sajjana = sat + jana

the form sat- appears to have undergone a change, which is noticed in the variation of that form viz., sat-, sad-, san-, saj-etc. The important feature here is that this variation can be defined. Each of these various forms has a definite environment of its own, and in that environment no other form occurs. Hence, instead of assigning a morphemic status to all these forms, only one representative form is taken as a morpheme, and all other forms are considered as allomorphs (positional variants). In the above examples, the form (sat-) is taken as a morpheme, and others viz., sat-, sad-, san-, and saj- are allomorphs. The environment of each of these forms is : sat- occurs before voiceless stops (viz., p in patha), sad- occurs before voiced stops (viz., b in bhakta), san- occurs before a nasal (viz., m in mārga), and saj- occurs before j in jana. So, each of these forms has a predictable environment. The forms occurring in different predictable environments become sub-members.

These morphemes are broadly divided into free morphemes and bound morphemes. Form with meaning which can occur independently is a free morpheme. The words 'siri', 'huḍuga', 'tinnu' etc., are free morphemes as they can occur freely. Those forms which cannot occur independently, but occur in union with free forms are called bound morphemes.² The form -tana in 'siritana' is such a bound morpheme. Similarly, -ti (in gouḍati), -gitti (in kaḷasagitti), -aka (in haraka), -annu (in giḍavannu), -tt (in nōḍuttāne) etc.. are bound morphemes.

Free morphemes may be divided into Nouns-forms which can be declined, Roots-forms which can be conjugated, and Indeclinables which do not undergo any change.

Bound morphemes are divided depending upon their functions into Derivative forms and Inflectional forms. The Derivative forms are those which form words.

Examples :

hiri + tana = hiritana
kunṭa + i = kunṭi

The Inflectional forms change the class of the base form and restrict the further growth of the morphemes.

Examples :

-aru in huḍugaru
-inda in maneyinda

Suffixes indicating number, gender, case and tense are all Inflectional suffixes in Kannada. Based on the above the section on morphology is divided into Noun morphology which includes nouns, adjectives, derivational forms etc. and Verb morphology which includes the roots, their classification, tense-suffixes, adverbs etc.

Noun Morphology:

The treatment of Noun-morphology by Kēśirāja begins with the sūtra: "Vibhakti is so called because it divides the meaning of the word. It is also known as pratyaya (suffix). The base (prakṛti) takes its position before the suffix. These two join into a word".

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According to Kēśirāja, the forms which are affixed to the free forms are called affixes. The derivation of the term 'pratyaya' is that the form which comes after the base is called a suffix,³ or 'that which helps to understand is 'praryaya'⁴.

Are the terms 'vibhakti' and 'pratyaya' synonymous? Kēśirāja has used them as such. According to him, as these forms divide the meaning in the words, they are called 'vibhakti' (case). This case-relation is expressed through certain forms which are called 'pratyayas'. The abstract relation expressed by cases is denoted explicitly by the suffixal forms. Pāṇini has divided suffixes into 'sup' – suffixes which come after nouns, and 'tiṇ' – forms which come after verbal roots.

To the nominal bases 'mara', 'deva' etc., the -am suffix is added. Hence they are nouns. If to the verbal bases 'nōḍu', 'bēḍu' etc., suffixes like -id, -am are added, we get words 'nōḍidam', 'bēḍidam'. The forms 'nōḍida', 'bēḍida' which remain after the suffix -am is dropped, are nouns. Indeclinable as well as the noun-portion in a compound to which a case-suffix is added are words.

Kinds of Nouns:

"Nouns are of three kinds: they are the common noun (rūḍha or niścita nāma), noun having self-evident meaning (anvārtha nāma), and proper noun (ankita nāma)".

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The common noun is commonly known and used in a conventional sense. Examples: nelam, polam, jalam, calam. The common noun may contain one to five syllables. Examples: pū, maram, pottage, kavaḷige, kaṭṭavattige.

The noun follows either the meaning or the quality. Examples of nouns following quality are: dāni, dayāpara, parākrami. Examples of nouns following the meaning are: hiḷlegālam, niḍumūgam, kusigoralam. Proper names are given irrespective of whether they convey a meaning or not. Examples: Kāṭa, Kasava, Mācha, Māra. Nouns are divided in this way into three categories. Common nouns, it is said, are used according to convention. It is only due to convention that common nouns get the meaning. In a few cases, the conventional etymology may even be untraceable. In a few others, it may be naming the objects which appear to be expressive. In yet other cases, an individual is given a particular name for identification by a group of people and this name is accepted by others.

Kēśirāja explains the term 'root' and its various kinds: "The one that does not express verbal action, and has no case terminations, but embodies meaning, is a nominal base (linga). There are four types which are verbal forms (krit), nominal bases with derivative suffixes, compound nouns and simple nouns".

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A form which does not express action, which does not contain any of the case suffixes, and is not devoid of meaning is called Noun.

Regarding Kēśirāja's definition of Noun, it is clear that he defines it negatively. "That which does not express verbal action, and has no case-terminations, but embodies meaning is Noun". There should be meaning to make a particular form into a morpheme. To establish the different entity of the noun, he says, "The form which does not express action is a noun – root". This is not safe criterion for establishing the noun as an independent entity. The characteristic of the noun, according to him, is that forms without case termination are nouns. Here is the most important criterion, though not recognized as such by Kēśirāja. He says there are no case suffixes in the noun form. This will not suffice, because there may be many forms which do not have case suffixes and yet are not nouns. For example, ghammene, ghaḷilene etc.

From the modern point of view, the definition of a noun can be: "A form which can take case-suffixes is a noun."⁵ It is not important whether a particular form has a case-suffix or not, but rather its potentiality to have it is what makes a noun. That is, forms capable of taking the case-suffixes may be termed as nouns. For examples, giḍa, kuṇṭa, hasiru can take any of the case-suffixes, like giḍavannu, kuṇṭa-ninda, hasirinalli. Hence, they are nouns.

These forms are further divided into roots and non-roots. The roots may be either noun roots or verb roots. Those which are capable of taking case-suffixes are noun-roots. Those which express action are verb-roots.

Linga :

Kaṣīrāja uses the term 'linga' in the sense of nominal base. In other places, he has used it to denote gender.⁶ The definition of 'linga' (the nominal base) given by Kaṣīrāja above, is in line with the one given in Kātantra grammar, where it is defined as 'dhātuvibhaktivarjitam-arthopetam lingam'. That is, that which is devoid of verbal roots and case suffixes and has a meaning, is called 'linga'. The definition given by Pāṇini is: 'arthavat adhātuḥ apratyah prātipadikam'.⁷ The form 'linga' is used in Kannada grammars as the synonym of 'prātipadika',⁸ when it is used to designate the nominal base. Kaṣīrāja uses the term 'linga' in a restricted sense to designate only the nominal base. In fact, the term 'linga' has a wider significance. It includes both nominal and verbal forms because the general definition of 'linga' is any form with meaning.⁹ The 'linga' is of two kinds. The form which is used with the seven case-suffixes and three number suffixes, is the nominal base and the form which is used with three pronominal suffixes, number suffixes, three tenses etc., is called the verbal root. The verbal form also is called 'linga'.¹⁰ Kaṣīrāja however excluded verbal roots from the designation of 'linga' and called them as prakṛti.

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Nominal Bases :

The nominal bases are of four kinds: verbal forms, nominal bases with derivative suffixes, compound nouns and simple nouns.

Examples of verbal forms are: māḍida, beḍida, kūḍida, nōḍida etc. Though these forms have verbal roots in them, the resultant forms can take case suffixes. Hence, they are nouns. If case-suffixes are added the forms become māḍidam, māḍidanam, māḍidanam etc.

Examples for nominal bases with derivative suffixes are: paḍeva||a, maḍiva||a, sejjeva||a, etc. Here the base forms are paḍe, maḍi and sejje. To them the derivative suffixes are added and these forms are created. These are nouns, because these take case-terminations. Examples: maḍiva||am, maḍiva||anam, maḍiva||anim etc.

Compound-nouns are formed by compounding two or more free forms. The resultant form will behave, for all grammatical purposes, as a single noun. Examples: teṅgā||i, immāvu, muṅgay, maragiḍu-ba||i. Case suffixes are added to these. Examples: teṅgā||i, teṅgā||iyam, teṅgā||iyim etc.

A simple noun is any free form that takes case-suffixes. Examples: arasa, hariṇa etc. By affixing the case-suffixes, we can get forms like arasam, arasanam, arasanam and so on.

Words ending in -y, -r etc. are given. "Most of the Kannada words end in -y, -r, -l, -ṇ, -n, -l, -ḷ, and -ṭ". Most of the words in Kannada are consonant-ending and the majority of the words end in -y, -r, -ṭ, -l, -ṇ, -n, -l, -ḷ.

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Examples :

-y :	kay, mey, bay, koy
-r :	nār, bār, tār, bemaṛ, usir
-l :	pāl, kāl, sāl, nūl
-ṇ :	pavaṇ, nāṇ, jāṇ
-n :	pon, ben, min
-l :	baḷ, taḷ, miduḷ
-ṭ :	ēṭ, baṣiṭ, pesaṭ
-ḷ :	bīḷ, bāḷ, tēḷ

Some of the words end in a vowel. Examples, karu, taṇu, anu.

Kaṣīrāja has used the term 'mostly' (piridu). What was the necessity of using this term? It is a fact that Dravidian words mostly end in consonants. Kannada also once had the same structure. But, in due course, this structure of words began to change, adding a vowel at the end of a word. By Kaṣīrāja's time most words ending in a consonant previously ended in a vowel. The changing structure of these words was known to Kaṣīrāja, as can be seen from the phrase 'asvaravidhiyam'. Still, his conservatism did not accept this change. He wanted to preserve the old forms. Hence, he included many words in his list, which did not end in a vowel. As a true descriptive grammarian, he listed only words ending in a consonant enumerated above. It is a fact that the majority of words in Kannada had a consonant at the end. He should have enumerated other factors like a) which consonants begin a word, b) whether the consonant - clusters come at the

beginning, and c) which clusters are permissible in the medial position etc.

He notes the dropping of the final syllable in the following words : “naravu, neravu, dēvara baravu, teravu, eṭtaravu, noḷavu – these words according to some people, drop the final syllable”.

SDS 56

In these words, the final –u is dropped. Then he gives the examples naram – naravu, neram – neravu, baram – baravu etc. His intention appears to hint at the dropping of the final syllable.

The final syllable was dropped optionally. A section of speakers pronounced words without dropping the final syllable. That is, at Kēśirāja's time both forms were in vogue.

Verbal Nouns

Kēśirāja has divided nominal bases into four kinds. He explains the first kind, viz., verbal nouns : “When the suffixes of verbs (of third person singular), with their augments in the past and the future tense, are removed, we get krits, i.e. verbal bases. We do not similarly get them from verbs which are in the present tense, or in the imperative mood, and in verbs in second and first person, case-suffixes cannot be added.”

SDS 83

The verbal base is formed out of the forms which indicate past or future tense, from which case suffix is removed. The present tense forms, imperative forms, and first and second person forms do not become nominal bases. Hence, no case suffix is added to them. The example for the nominal base out of a past tense form is ‘nalidam’. From this, the suffix –am is removed and the remaining ‘nalida’ becomes the nominal base. The example for the future tense forming the nominal base is: ‘bēḍuvam,’ ‘poyvam’. The suffix –am is removed and the remaining forms, ‘bēḍuva,’ ‘poyva,’ are nominal bases. The forms, ‘māḍidapam,’ ‘nōḍidapam’ (present tense), ‘kuḍu,’ ‘tuḍu,’ (imperative), ‘bēḍiday’ (second person singular), ‘bēḍidir’ (second person plural), ‘pāḍuven’ (first person singular), ‘pāḍuvevu’ (first person plural) etc. do not form nominal bases.

The examples given for nominal bases from past and future tenses contain the base plus the tense-suffix plus the person and number-suffix. For example, ‘nalidam’ contains the base ‘nali’ – plus the past

tense suffix –da plus the masculine singular suffix –am. That means, there are two suffixes: the tense suffix and the gender-number suffix. In the explanation, it is said that the tense suffix (vibhaktigaḷam – kriyā vibhaktigaḷam) should be removed (kaḷeye).

When all suffixes, except the past and future tense suffixes, are removed, what remains is a verbal nominal base. From the verbal form the inflectional suffixes (ākhyāta pratyaya) are removed. The suffixes are –am, –ar, –ay, –ir, –an and –evu.

SDS 227

The manner of forming verbal nouns is simple. Two kinds of verbal forms are responsible for nominal bases. One is the past participle (bhūtakridvāci) form, and the other is the future participle (bhaviṣyat kridvāci) form. Participle forms are formed by the addition of tense suffix to the verbal root. If the past tense suffix is there, it is a past participle noun ; and if the future tense suffix is there, it is a future participle noun. As these participle forms can take case - suffixes, they can be called nominal bases.

Examples :

nalidam, nalidanam, nalidanim.
poyvam, poyvanam, poyvanim

Kēśirāja treats a different type of verbal noun : “Verbal nominal bases can be formed by the addition of the suffix –isu to Sanskrit abstract nouns, which also contain the sense of verbs.”

SDS 84

If to the Sanskrit abstract nouns like ‘bhāva,’ ‘bhāṅga’ the suffix –isu is added, they become verbal roots in Kannada. By the addition of verbal suffixes to roots, verbal forms are formed. Among these, the past and future tenses, as stated above, after the removal of the verbal suffixes, become verbal nominal bases.

This is not different from the previous sūtra. The only addition is another type of verbal roots formed by the addition of the –isu suffix to the Sanskrit abstract nouns. After the addition of this suffix, they behave like the rest.

Examples :

bhāva + isu = bhāvisu – bhāvisida
bhāga + isu = bhāgisi – bhāgisida

A further variety of the verbal nominal base is mentioned: "Verbs and sentences when used as nouns by great poets become nominal bases. Such usages are found in ancient works."

A sentence when used as a noun by a great poet can become a nominal base.

Examples :

Action : namōstugaḷirpandadi

The phrase 'nomōstugl' forms the nominal base.

Sentence :

āḷdanakeyduvottaradēvam

The sentence is treated as a noun. Similarly 'ahimsāparamō-dharmaḥ' is a noun.

Kāśirāja explains the procedure of formation of the nominal bases from Sanskrit words : "The crude nouns, after discarding the numbers and particles of the Sanskrit lexicon, are used as nominal bases in Kannada and are called Sama-Sanskrita.

SDS 90

Excepting numerals and indeclinables, the soft (sulalita) words of the Sanskrit lexicon are adapted to the Kannada structure to form nominal bases. These are called 'Sama-Saṃskrita' words.

Examples :

kāmam, vasanatam, bhīmam

The Sama-Saṃskrita words should not be used with Kannada words to form compounds. Compounds like 'arasukumāram', 'keḷadisametam', 'parigatanage', 'mukhatāvare', are forbidden.

"Sanskrit particles, pronouns beginning with 'tyad', as well as 'śatrināntas', and particles with a final '-at', cannot form nominal bases in Kannada unless they are used as compounds with other words."

SDS 91

Indeclinables, pronouns with 'tyad' etc., and 'śatrināntas', unless they are compounded in Sanskrit cannot be natural nominal bases in Kannada.

Indeclinables like 'antar', 'bahir', 'muhur', 'punar', 'īṣat' cannot have case-suffixes in Kannada, for we cannot say 'antaram', 'antarim', 'antarge' etc. The two Sanskrit words, one of them being indeclinable, should be compounded.

Examples :

antarmukha, bahirmukha, punaḥpāka, prātaḥkāla

It is only to these forms that Kannada suffixes are added.

Examples :

antarmukham, antarmukhanam

Sanskrit pronouns like 'tad', 'yad', 'asmad', 'yuṣmad', are to be used in Sanskrit compounds like 'tadvana', 'tatpura', and Kannada suffixes are to be added only to these compound forms."

Examples :

tadvanam, tadvanamam

Śatrināntas are present tense forms like 'raṇat', 'raṇat', 'bhramat' etc. These should be compounded in Sanskrit itself.

Examples :

'raṇatkankaṇa', 'raṇatkokila', 'bhramadbhramara'.

Kannada case-suffixes are added only to these compounds.

Examples :

raṇatkankaṇam, raṇatkankaṇamam

The restriction for using Sanskrit forms in Kannada is that Sanskrit and Kannada words should not be used to form a compound. Sanskrit indeclinables, pronouns, present tense forms etc., should not be used in Kannada independently. That is, these forms will not form nominal bases in Kannada. Only simple nouns or Sanskrit compound nouns can become nominal bases in Kannada.

"Sanskrit numbers up to ten form declinable bases only when they form parts of compounds or are in conjunction with affixes. When the final ā of Sanskrit feminine nouns is changed to e or a, they become declinable bases in Kannada.

The idea of sūtra 90 is made clear as regards numerals. Sanskrit numbers from 'ēka' to 'daśa' will not be natural nominal bases in Kannada. To become nominal bases they are to be either compounded

or have case-suffixes added. Sanskrit -ā ending feminine forms, when modified into -a ending or -e ending words optionally, they become nominal bases.

Examples :

Numeral Compounds:

ēkāṅga, dvimukha, trilōka in the forms
ēkangam, ēkanganam etc.

Numerals with Suffixes:

dvitīya, catuṣka

Sanskrit-ā, Kannada-e (feminine) :

bāla-bāle, śālā-sāle, nidrā-nidre

Both forms:

grīvā- grīve, grīva
bhikṣā-bhikṣe, bhikṣa

To the above forms case-suffixes can be added in Kannada. Hence they are called nominal bases.

The above idea is extended in the next sūtra: "When the final -ā of Sanskrit nouns is changed to e, these nouns become declinable nominal bases in Kannada. We also get Kannada nominal bases when the final ī and ū of Sanskrit nouns change to i and u. Monosyllabic Sanskrit words like jyā etc., are used as nominal bases in Kannada without any change."

SDS 93

The manner how Sanskrit -ā -ī, ū-ending words are adapted in Kannada is given here. Similarly, the behaviour of Sanskrit monosyllabic words is given.

Examples :

ā → e vadhā-vadhe, abhilāṣā - abhilāṣe
ī → i Laxmī - Laxmi, Gaurī - Gauri
ū → u sarayū - sarayu, kharjū - kharju

These modified forms are nominal bases in Kannada.

Monosyllabic Sanskrit words form nominal bases in Kannada, like jyā, mā, strī, shrī.

"Sanskrit nouns with a final a, i, u and ṛi generally remain as they are in Kannada and are used as nominal bases. The final ṛi sometimes

gets changed to āra. The Sanskrit word 'dhātṛi' becomes 'dhātā' in Kannada. The word 'vidhātṛi' is used as 'vidhātṛa'."

SDS 94

-a, i-, -u and -ṛi ending words are nominal bases. By the term 'mostly' (pīna) it is meant that sometimes for ṛi, āra occurs.

Examples:

-a: bhuvana, naḷina, nayana, śayana
-i: rati, pati, yati, mati, ravi, giri
-u: paśu, siśu, ripu, bhānu, dhēnu
-ṛi: pitṛi, savitri, nēṛi, hōṛi:
-ṛi → āra: savitāra, nētāra, hōtāra:

It is seen that some words like 'nēṛi' have both forms. Hence, it is difficult to say which was more in vogue. Still, it appears that 'nētāra', 'kartāra' etc., were used more frequently than other words.

"The final ṛi of pitṛi is changed into -ara, the final 'i' of 'sakhi' is changed into 'a' as in 'sakha', when they are used as nominal bases in Kannada."

SDS 95

It is all right if for ṛi in 'pitṛi', the -ara comes so that the form will be 'pitara'. The forms, with suffixes added, will be 'pitaram'. In the next half, he says that the final 'i' of 'sakhi' is changed to 'a' (sakha) to form the nominal base in Kannada. It amounts to the fact that the Sanskrit word 'sakhi' to form the nominal base in Kannada, becomes 'sakha'. But this is far from the truth. Both forms 'sakhi' and 'sakha' can be used in Kannada in their original forms. If 'sakha' was derived from 'sakhi' in Sanskrit, it would be a different matter. But how can it be said that the word 'sakhi', to form a nominal base in Kannada, becomes 'sakha'? There are many such words listed by Kēśirāja.

"Sanskrit nominal bases ending in consonants are made to end in -a or -u, with the doubling of the final consonant, or their final consonants are dropped, when the Sanskrit nouns become Kannada nominal bases."

SDS 96

Now Kēśirāja deals with the modification of consonant - ending words of Sanskrit into Kannada. All such words get vowel at the end, and that vowel is either a or u. Before this vowel is added, the final consonant is doubled.

Examples :

addition of -a:

div-diva, sraja-sraja, marut-maruta

addition of -u and doubling of final consonant:

ap-appu, ksut-ksuttu, vidyut-vidyuttu

dropping of final consonant:

rājan-rāja, karin-kari, karman-karma

In the sūtra, the term 'also' (mān) is used. This is to indicate the changes found in yaśam-yaśassu, tējam-tējassu, manam-manassu etc. Some consonant-ending words are used in Kannada like 'vāk', 'yugapad' etc. The word gīr becomes gire.

"Sanskrit nominal bases in the third person plural and ending in 'visarga' are used as nominal bases if the 'visarga' is dropped."

SDS 97

Sanskrit first person plural forms which end in 'visarga' drop the 'visarga' to form the nominal base in Kannada, to become singular bases.

Examples :

śvānaḥ-śvāna

yuvānaḥ-yuvāna

vidvāṃsaḥ-vidvāṃsa

śrīmanāḥ-śrīmanā

In the above sūtras, the procedures of using Sanskrit forms in Kannada as nominal bases are given. It is an established fact that from whatever source the words came, they have to change to suit the structure of the receiving language. Wherever the two structures are common, the forms remain unchanged. If there is a difference in the two structures, the forms have to change accordingly. If the difference is found in one or two examples, it is limited to that particular word, like 'pitṛi' becoming 'pitara'. But if a particular structural difference is found in a large number of words, the change will be stated in terms of a principle, which is also called fashion of adaptation. Such a phenomenon is found in ā changing to e, in such examples as bālā-bāle, mālā-māle. There is no 'visarga' in Kannada: hence, all words having 'visarga' drop it when used in Kannada. There is another aspect of this: there is a semantic change. First person plural forms ending in 'visarga' drop the 'visarga' and behave as singular bases.

These words will give structural clue to the existence or otherwise of a particular feature in the system. Why Sanskrit words ending in ā should change to e? It is because the long vowel -ā does not occur in the final position of Kannada free words. Similarly, the long vowels ī and ū do not come at the end of Kannada words. Hence, all Sanskrit long vowels in words like strī, sarayū etc., become short vowels in Kannada. Because the vowel 'ri' is not found in Kannada, it changes to 'ara', or where was the necessity of a change? Similar is the case with 'visarga'.

GENDER

There are nine genders in Kannada; they are :

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1) masculine | 2) feminine |
| 3) neuter | 4) masculine-feminine |
| 5) feminine-neuter | 6) masculine-neuter |
| 7) samasta linga | 8) dependent (viśeṣyādhīna) |
| 9) avyayalinga | gender |

SDS 98

Examples :

<i>Masculine :</i>	arasam, dēvam, suram
<i>Feminine :</i>	arasi, dēvi
<i>Neuter :</i>	kannadi, kaḷasam
<i>Masculine-feminine :</i>	ivar (puruṣar, strīyar)
<i>Masculine-neuter :</i>	ravi (mūḍidam, mūḍidudu)
<i>Feminine-neuter :</i>	ā peṇ (jāṇe, bandudu)
<i>Samastalinga :</i>	nīn (arasam, arasi, paṣu)
<i>Dependent gender :</i>	abhimāni, dāni, sādhu
<i>Avyayalinga :</i>	bhōnkane (bandam, bandaḷ, bandudu)

In the next sūtra, Kāśirāja lists the varieties of dependent (vācyā or viśeṣyādhīna) gender: dependent gender consists of the following seven classes of words :

The words nān, nīn and tān.

Qualifiers.

Pronouns.

Bahhvṛīhi compounds.

Nominal bases of verbal themes (krits).

Derivative nouns.

Numerals.

SDS 99

The gender of these words depends on the substantive with which they appear. That is, these categories have inherently no gender. Their gender is that of the substantive :

Examples :

<i>nīm etc :</i>	nīm kāmam, nīm rati, nīm giḷi
<i>Qualifier :</i>	iniyam, iniyaḷ, iniyadu, inidu
<i>Pronoun :</i>	peṇam, peṇaḷ, peṇatu.
<i>Compound (bahuvrīhi) :</i>	avam kusigoralam, avaḷ kusigoral adu kusigoral
<i>Verbal theme :</i>	pāḍidam, pāḍidaḷ, pāḍidudu
<i>Derivative :</i>	ōḍāḷi ivam, ōḍāḷi ivaḷ, ōḍāli idu
<i>Numerals :</i>	sāyir gaṇḍar, sāyirpeṇḍir, sāyir manegaḷ

Next, the nature of the avyayaliṅga is described : "The avyayaliṅga adjusts itself to all cases, the three genders and the three numbers."

SDS 100

Examples :

Nominative :

'nirneram bandam' means 'nirnimittam bandam'

Accusative :

'beccaram nuḍidam' means 'beccaramam nuḍidam'

Instrumental :

'antaṇim' means 'adaṇinda', 'paccane', 'keccane' give a dative sense, 'mattina' gives the sense of genitive

Three genders :

matte nōḍidam, matte nōḍidaḷ, matte nōḍidudu

Number :

Bhōṅkane ōrvam bandam (singular)

Mellane irvar nuḍidar (Dual)

Neṭṭane ellarum pōdar (Plural)

In the previous sūtra, Kēśirāja enumerated nine genders, but in the following he says there are only three : "There are three genders in Kannada - masculine, feminine and neuter. Those which denote men are masculine, those which denote women are feminine and all others are neuter. The use of the other genders is not found."

SDS 101

Examples :

Masculine : arasam, kāmam, Rāmam

Feminine : Sarasvati, Rati, Shaci

Neuter : maram, baḷḷi, puli

We find the treatment of a few individual words : "The nouns 'jana' and 'mahājana' are neuter. The word 'jana' if preceded by the suffix duḥ-, sat- or su-, is considered as masculine gender. If it is preceded by mahat-, it is neuter."

SDS 102

Examples :

durjanam, sajjanam, sujanam (masculine)

janam, mahajanam (neuter)

"Some Sanskrit words belonging to all the three genders, become only neuter. 'sajjana', 'kulavadhu' are always neuter."

SDS 103

The gender of some Sanskrit words in Kannada is treated. Whatever the gender of these words in Sanskrit, they become neuter in Kannada.

Examples :

sajjana, kulavadu

Kēśirāja distinguishes the term 'liṅga' as a) nominals, or noun roots which are divided into nine classes on the basis of concordance; in other words, Kannada nouns on syntactic level belong to nine classes, and b) three grammatical genders, which have overt markers in morphological constructions since 'liṅga' is used to denote gender in the following sūtras.

The treatment of gender by Kēśirāja is interesting because sometimes he says there are nine genders (sūtra 98), and sometimes three (sūtra 101). The hair-splitting analysis of gender into nine parts, which is not inherent in Kannada was not necessary. It is stated only to be discarded later on. As Kēśirāja himself says that they are not found in Kannada, it would have sufficed to say they are not there. They are listed by him only because they are found in Sanskrit.

In sūtra 99, he listed seven classes of words in dependent gender. The point here is that all these forms have no susceptibility to gender. Whatever the gender of the substantive, the same may be assumed in respect of these forms. Strangely, Kēśirāja has given in the list the

forms nīn, ān etc., and pronouns different from these. It is not clear what led him to call the forms nīn, ān etc., not as pronouns and to call only peṛatu etc., as pronouns. The dependent gender in respect of verbal themes are illustrated by pāḍidam, pāḍidaḷ, pāḍidudu. On what are they dependent? One useful purpose served by this listing is, that these forms are not susceptible to gender, is made clear.

In sūtra 100, the case is similar. As 'avyayaliṅga' does not have inherent gender, it adjusts itself to the form with which it appears. While giving examples of this adjustment to the gender of the seven cases, Kēśirāja has left out examples for ablative and locative cases. The reason is not clear, perhaps there were no examples.

Anyway, he specifically states in sūtra 101 that there are only three genders in Kannada and no others are found. And he has given definitions of all these categories. All the words which indicate men are masculine; those which indicate women are feminine. It is all right so far. But he adds that the rest of words are neuter. That means all animals, whether male or female, are neuter. So while treating of gender in Kannada, the distinction of male or female is restricted to humanbeings only. That is, the gender of Kannada nouns is decided by the meaning.¹³ The gender of old Kannada generally seems to agree with the natural sex-difference except in the case of animals which are brought under the neuter gender.¹⁴ He does not agree with the statement of K. V. Subbayya that -in all Dravidian languages gender follows sex. Kannada nouns in respect of gender are divided into two classes: i) human and ii) non-human. That is, those endowed with reason.¹⁵ All human nouns have the same termination in the plural, while in the singular, there is a distinction of masculine and feminine.¹⁶

The gender distinction is indicated by -an (masculine), -aḷ (feminine) and -ad (neuter). All these forms are singular. In the plural, for human nouns there is -ar and for neuter nouns there is -avu. These forms also indicate the number distinction. But in the first and second persons, only the number distinction is found. Hence, in a limited sense, in Kannada the treatment of gender and number comes together. In the following sūtras number is treated.

Number

"One, two and many are indicated by the singular, dual and plural. Singular and plural numbers are accepted in Kannada. Dual appears in appropriate places."

SDS 104

Examples :

māru idu (singular), pattu kaṅgaḷ (plural), bhīmārjunar (dual)
In the next sūtra, Kēśirāja gives the number suffixes. "Before the seven case-suffixes, for dual and plural -gaḷ occurs. In pronouns and adjectives in place of -gaḷ, -avu occurs."

SDS 105

Examples:

toḍegaḷ, kaṅgaḷ, avu piriyaḷ, ivu kiriyavu, iniyavu.
"The -tu coming at the final position of qualifiers becomes -du; the first letter of avu and ivu is dropped. For -gaḷ, the forms -ir, -ar, -dir, -vir occur in the masculine and feminine."

SDS 107

Examples :

Dropping of

avu :	beṭṭiduvu, oḷḷiduvu
-ir :	peṇḍir, toḷṭir
-ar :	dēvar, naṇṭar, nallar
-dir :	ivaḷdir, ivandir, avandir
-vir :	attevir, sosevir, tāyvir

"For the masculine and feminine -ar occurs. In case of numerals, pronouns, verbal themes, adjectives and derivatives, the -a ending words drop -ir, -dir and -vir."

SDS 108

"In some words, -kaḷ comes along with -ar and -vir. Owing to bahulagrahaṇa, -kaḷ occurs even where -ar and -vir are not present. For -dir and -vir there will optionally be -gaḷ."

SDS 111

Examples:

-ar and -kaḷ :	budharkaḷ, gōvarkaḷ
-vir and -kaḷ :	tāyvirkaḷ
elsewhere -kaḷ :	makkaḷ, kōḷkaḷ, nāḷkaḷ
pronouns :	avargaḷ, ivargaḷ, uvargaḷ
-dir and -gaḷ :	aṇṇandir - aṇṇaṅgaḷ
-vir and -gaḷ :	attevir - attegaḷ

In the next sūtra, the use of plural and singular is given : "For singular there is use of the plural in following situations :

“ 1) unworthy character, 2) natural greatness, 3) elders, saints etc. and 4) disgust.”

SDS 112

Examples :

natural : emma tandegaḷ, emma tāygaḷ
elders : gurugaḷ, svāmigaḷ
disgust : baḍavādirarasā

“If after –a ending masculine and feminine, –gaḷ and –dir occur, there is bindu. In –a ending neuter words it is optional. In Sanskrit bindu is compulsory.”

SDS 113

Examples:

masculine : aṇṇandir, aṇṇaṅgaḷ
feminine : akkandir, akkaṅgaḷ
neuter : maraṅgaḷ, maragaḷ
Sanskrit words : guṇaṅgaḷ, nadaṅgaḷ
fault : dēśagaḷ?(it should be dēśaṅgaḷ)

In the following sūtra, Kēśirāja gives the use of collective singular: “The collective singular stands for the plural. Sometimes, even where there is no collectivity, the singular is used for the plural in case of qualifiers.”

SDS 148

Examples:

collectivity : āne nūnkidavu, – ānegaḷ nūnkidavu
non collectivity : manam sanchalamāduvu – manaṅgaḷ
sanchalamāduvu.

“The singular in numeral objects, numbers, nature etc. stand, for the plural. The qualifier can be in the plural and qualified in the singular.”

SDS 150

Examples:

numeral objects : pattudeśe –pattu deśegaḷ
numbers : ondu nālku – oṇḍu nālkuḷ
nature : kaṅgaḷ kūrpu – kaṅgaḷ kūrpuḷ
singular substantive : nēriduvu beral

“In the sense of a pair we have the singular. A verbal adjective also takes the singular.”

SDS 155

Examples:

padayugam for
padayugaḷaṅgaḷ
āviṣṭaliṅga : vēdaṅgaḷ paramāṇam

The form indicating ‘one’ is singular; that which indicates ‘two’ is dual; and ‘many’ is plural. But Kēśirāja does not include the dual whole-heartedly. He has imposed it on Kannada, because he is imitating the Sanskrit structure too well. Kannada has only two number suffixes – the singular and the plural. In the instances given for the dual the suffix is plural.

In sūtra 105, Kēśirāja gives the suffix –gaḷ as coming before seven case-suffixes. It is his habit to start with neuter forms and then state other forms as substitutes. If we take this sūtra literally, it amounts to saying that only –gaḷ occurs before case-suffixes, which, in fact, is not correct. The form peṇgaḷ is interesting, because, according to the definition given of the feminine, it should take the –ar suffix in the plural, in common with the masculine. But here the noun peṇ- takes the suffix –gaḷ. It is also used in the sense of neuter in some instances, e.g. ‘ā peṇ bandudu’. peṇ- with –gaḷ is also neuter. Is it a remnant of the original Dravidian structure where the feminine-neuter was neutralized?¹⁷ Another point in the sūtra is that pronouns and adjectives have the suffix –avu in place of –gaḷ. Is it necessary to say that –avu has replaced –gaḷ? Which is the form to which –avu is applied? The third person neuter plural form is –avu, and –avu is said to be the plural suffix. Hence the plural suffix may be other than –avu. It is –vu.

In sūtra 107, it is stated that, in place of –gaḷ masculine and feminine, the suffixes are –ir, –ar, –dir and –vir. The suffix –ār is also found in the inscriptions. For example, aninditār. The form –ār is more ancient than –ar. The suffix –ār is found along with –ar in inscriptions of the 8th century. But in subsequent centuries only –ar form is found.¹⁸ Of these –ar is a masculine plural suffix occurring in the words dēvar, nallar etc., –ir is to be used in feminine forms, –dir is used only with pronouns, and –vir comes with words indicating relatives like attevīr, tāyvir etc.

In sūtra 108, Kēśirāja is more specific. He states that the suffix –ar etc., comes in the feminine and masculine forms. But in the words

indicating numerals, pronouns, verbal themes, qualifiers, derivatives etc., only the form -ar appears. In the masculine form, the -ir, -dir and -vir suffixes are dropped.

In some words (sūtra 111) the suffix is -kaḷ. It may come along with -ar and -vir. This is a phenomenon where two plural suffixes are added one after the other. For example, budharkaḷ, tāyvirkaḷ. -kaḷ can come alone. It can be seen in the forms makkaḷ, nāḷkaḷ etc. In pronouns, the suffix -gaḷ appears. Pronouns get the suffix -ar (avar), -dir (avaḷdir avandir), and now -gaḷ (avargaḷ, ivargaḷ). The point about -gaḷ in pronouns is that it is not suffixed by itself to the pronoun. It only comes as a second suffix.

In sūtra 112, Kāśirāja gives some instances where the plural is used though the meaning is singular. While referring to elders, saints, natural greatness and also to express disgust the plural is used for the singular.

In sūtra 148, the opposite process is found. The singular is used, but the plural is indicated. It is called collective singular (jātyēka vachana). The particular word, though in the singular, because it stands for the whole community, gives the sense of plural. Such a noun is variously called a mass noun, or collective noun. Even in qualifiers, the singular is used, but a plural meaning is indicated.

Sūtra 150 gives the idea of the use of the singular in numeral objects, numbers etc., instead of the plural. In a word like nālkudeṣe, though the noun is singular in form, the word meaning 'four' gives it a plural sense. The plurality is achieved by affixing plural suffixes or by the word meaning 'many'. Hence, it may be one of the processes of pluralisation.

Similar is the case with the word 'pair'. As 'pair' always has the sense of 'two', it is plural. Hence, it need not have any plural suffix.

After the treatment of number given by Kāśirāja in a nutshell, let us try to represent the same from the modern point of view. For the singular and the plural there are separate suffixes. A form without any suffix also gives the sense of the singular: for example, mēru idu. And as the gender suffixes, -an, -aḷ and -adu, give more than one sense, these can be termed portmenteau morphemes. The plural forms are two: one set indicating the human category, and the other, the non-human category. The suffixes listed for the plural for human nouns are -ar, -vir, -dir and -ir. The suffixes for the neuter plural are -avu, -gaḷ and -kaḷ. The point is whether all these can be

treated as morphemes. The suffixes -gaḷ and -kaḷ are affixed to nominal stems, and -vu to others. -vu is affixed to verbal stems and pronouns. For example, avu māḍiduvu, -gaḷ and -kaḷ appear to have a definite environment. The -kaḷ suffix occurs in the words makkaḷ, kōḷkaḷ, nāḷkaḷ¹⁹ and goravarkaḷ, vēda-vidarkaḷ etc. The suffix -gaḷ occurs in the words toḍegaḷ, maragaḷ (maraṅgaḷ) peṅgaḷ etc. It may be generalized that the suffix -kaḷ occurs after words like makkaḷ, kōḷkaḷ, nāḷkaḷ and the suffix -gaḷ after all the words. Hence the two forms may be said to be the allomorphs of the same morpheme.

Here, the suffix -kaḷ is a morphologically conditioned allomorph.

This may be represented as follows:

-gaḷ	{	/-kaḷ/	occurs after makkaḷ, kōḷkaḷ nāḷkaḷ
		/-gaḷ/	occurs after vowel-ending and nasal-ending words, e.g., toḍegaḷ, peṅgaḷ
		/-vu/	occurs with neuter pronouns.

About non-neuter suffixes, something similar to the above can be said. Of the four suffixes, -ar, -ir, -vir and -dir indicating the masculine and the feminine (i.e. human), the suffix -ar occurs only after masculine stems, for example, dēvar, nallar. The form -ir occurs after peṇḍir and tōḷtir.²⁰ The suffix -vir occurs in the words attevir, sosevir, tāyvir etc. That is, -vir occurs in words indicating relatives that end in -e and consonants. In other kinship words, the suffix -dir occurs, for example, aṇḍandir, akkandir. It may be said that the suffixal -ar occurs after all masculine words except words of relationship. -vir occurs after relation words ending in -e and consonants, and -dir elsewhere. Hence, we can accept only one plural morpheme for human nouns, with four allomorphs, -dir, -vir, -ir and -ar.

The number and the gender taken together, the morphemes are as follows:

-n :	singular (first and second persons)
-v(u) :	plural (first and second persons)

The portmenteau morphemes are:

-an :	masculine and singular
-aḷ :	feminine and singular
-am :	neuter and singular

- ar,²¹ -ir, -vir,²² -dir -human and plural,
taking -v and -d as inflectional increments.
-gaḷ, -vu, -kaḷ -neuter and plural.

Nominal Bases-Changes

In the following sūtras, Kāśirāja notes the stray changes taking place in nominal bases: "Measurement words and numerals of masculine and feminine get -v, and that -v may become -b. In -a ending words, bindu occurs optionally. Sometimes -b is dropped.

SDS 109

Examples :

measurement :	ellavar
numerals :	mūvattumūvar
b :	anibar, inibar, irbar
bindu in -a words :	palambar, kelambar
optionally no bindu :	palabar, kelabar
dropping of -b :	palar, kelar

"Words indicating measurement, viz., anitu, initu, enitu, ellavu, kelavu, palavu, drop the final varṇas."

SDS 110

Examples :

anibar, inibar, enibar

"If there is a vowel in the latter half, bindu becomes m or n ; and m becomes v. The original m can become v."

SDS 114

Examples :

n :	polam + aṇiyade = polanaṇiyada
m :	kulam + am = kulamam
v :	kēḷavandam + ento = kēḷavandavento
original m → v :	tāmare-tāvare, timir-tivir

"After m and n, whether there is consonant or not, bindu occurs. If there is a varṇa consonant, it becomes the nasal of that class."

SDS 172

Examples :

bindu of m :	nīm yōgyar-nīm yōgyar
bindu of n :	ān vādi-ām vādi
without consonant :	nīn, ān, nīm, ām - nīm, ām

optionally in varṇa : avamkaḍugali, tāncalavādi,
karaṇṭakkam, kendaḷir, kemman

"The medial -y- becomes ai, and -w- becomes au. Optionally for the word-final -a, there is O."

SDS 168

Examples :

-y- :	tērayisidam - tēraisidam, kayivāram - kaivāram
-w- :	kawungu - kaungu, kawuṇḍe - kauḍe

As already stated, there are no diphthongs in Kannada (in the phonology section), there is no question of y becoming ai, and w becoming au.

"In non-compounds and compounds, n after ṇ becomes ṇ. It is difficult to pronounce, though found in some instances."

SDS 169

Examples :

taṇ + neḷal = taṇṇeḷal, kaṇ + nīr = kaṇṇīr

Kāśirāja has noticed the change of p into h also. "For p there will be h. But in the cluster, '-pp' does not necessarily become h. It adds beauty to Kannada language."

SDS 170

Examples :

change :	puli - huli, palage - halage, pāsu - hāsu
	pandi - handi
no change :	tappu, heppu, muppuri

"In the words antaham, intaham, untaham, entaham, -h is found for the cluster of -pp. For the words ending in 'gaḍa' there is annam, innam, unnam, ennam, optionally."

SDS 171

The change of p into h was found during Kāśirāja's time. But it was optional. Dr. A. N. Narasimhaiah has shown that till the end of the 9th century p was preserved.²⁴ From 10th century onwards this was noticed, and was on the increase in every century.

CASE

Kaṣīrāja defines vibhakti : "Vibhakti is so called because it divides the meaning of the word. It is also known as affix (pratyaya). The case takes its position before the suffix. These two join into a word."

SDS 45

The function of the vibhakti is to divide the meaning of the word whatever it may mean. This function is achieved by suffixes which are joined to the base forms.

In the next sūtra, the seven case suffixes are enumerated : "The seven nominal case suffixes -m, -am, -im, -ke, -at, -ad and oḷ respectively are added to all the different nominal bases enumerated before."

SDS 103

The seven cases are : nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative. The respective case suffixes are the ones listed above. These are added depending on the kāraka. Kāraka is responsible for action. The kāraka is of six kinds : agent (kartṛ), object (karma), instrument (karaṇa), giving (sampradāna), separation (apādāna) and location (adhikaraṇa). The genitive indicates relation between nouns.

Examples :

nominative :	maram
accusative :	maramam
instrumental :	maradim
dative :	marakke
ablative :	maradattanim
locative :	maradoḷ
vocative :	maranē

Nominative Case

In the following sūtra, various changes in the nominative case forms are given. "In the nominative, -a ending words get bindu. In non -a ending words, it is dropped; -a ending masculine gets -n."

SDS 151

In the nominative, -e ending words get bindu. In non-a ending forms, the nominative case suffix is dropped. In -a ending masculine forms, if a vowel follows, there is always -n.

Examples :

bindu :	vēdavidam
dropping of bindu :	pul, giḍu, puli, baḷli
-n āgama :	avana

Is there any suffix for the nominative case ? Kaṣīrāja lists -m as the nominative case suffix, and other grammarians do the same thing. The examples are maram etc. This phenomenon is limited to -a ending words. In other words ending in a vowel other than -a, -m is not found. Even in -a ending words, it is not always the case.

Examples :

pavanaja ²⁵ , aḷiya, ²⁶ arasa, keḷeya, oḍeya etc., ²⁷ kaṇṇaci, koṇṇaṇi, arasi, mahādevi, bhūmi, kṛpu, puḷu, palipare, perggade, sūle.
--

Hence, there is no nominative case suffix in Kannada. A. N. Narasimhaiah says : 'There is no case termination for the nominative singular in all three genders.'²⁸ Usually, the stem itself stands for the nominative case, or the stem with the gender suffix. Kaypiḍi is specific about the non-existence of case termination for the nominative²⁹. The rule in the grammars is that in -a ending words that too, in the singular, the suffix is added. That too is sometimes dropped. That means the case termination for the nominative is non-existent. The suffix is added, only to be dropped later. It is to fill a structural necessity that every case has a suffix to denote it. Dr. Caldwell says that, in the Dravidian, the nominative is not provided with a case termination³⁰.

Accusative Case

In the following sūtra, the accusative case is treated. "For the -a ending neuter in the accusative case³¹ -am and -an are used. In Sanskrit, there is only -am. For the instrumental case etc., -d occurs."

SDS 116

Examples :

-am :	beṭṭamam, koḷḷamam, baḷagamam
-an :	polanan, nelanan, bilanan
-am in Sanskrit :	kulamam, calamam

In the next sūtra, the nature and kinds of the object are given. "The object is the thing intended by an agent. It is of four kinds."

nirvartya :	to be done
vikārya :	which is modified
prāpya :	that to be attained
vaiṣayika :	object of eyes

SDS 138

Examples :

nirvartya :	maneyam māḍidam, kāvyamam pēḷdam
vikārya :	paḷuvam kaḍidam
prāpya :	ūraneydidam, maneyam sārdam
vaiṣayika :	nēsaṅgam nōḍidam, gītamam kēḷdam

In the next sūtra the environment of the accusative case is given :
 “ The accusative case is to be used in the sense of wanted, unwanted, time, space and direction.”

SDS 139

Examples :

wanted:	nēvaḷamam tegedam
unwanted:	pāvam dāṇṭidam
time :	aṇḍiṅgaḷam taḷvidam
distance:	aregāvudam paridam

Kāśirāja lists -am as the accusative case-suffix. Originally it was -an, since when a vowel comes after -m, it becomes -n; in the old inscriptions the forms -ān and -an are found;³¹ e.g. singhamān, pīṭhamān. Of the forms -an and -ān, the form -ān is older. During the 7th century -ān forms are more prevalent, and in 8th century -ān and -an are found side by side. In subsequent centuries only -an has remained.³² For example, eḍeyān, giriyaṇ, (7th century) koḍeyān, kōṭeyān, pīṭhamān (8th century), dattamān, nelan, puliyaṇ, kēḷan sthānamān (9th century).³³ The length is said to be optional in the accusative case if vowel follows.³⁴ For example, kallaṇēḍidam -kallānēḍidam, billanadam -billānadam.

Another feature of the accusative case is that the nominative is also used in the sense of the accusative. That means in some accusative forms there is no suffix. For example, nuṇṇuḷḷan.³⁵

In addition to the accusative case suffixes -ān, -an, -am, as mentioned by Kāśirāja, there are other suffixes found in inscriptions of that period. These are -am, -ā and a.³⁶ For example, pull -a, kayy -a, vālibhāgamam, arasanam.

Instrumental Case

In the following sūtras, the instrumental case is treated : “ For agent, instrument and intention, the instrumental case is used.”

SDS 139

Examples :

agent :	padakam akkasāleyim māḍepaṭṭudu
instrument :	koḍaliyim kaḍidam
cause :	ōlagadim paḍedam

-im is also the instrumental case suffix found in the inscriptions e. g. Rāghavan-im.³⁷

In the next sūtra, the stem form is given attention : “ For the instrumental case etc., -d- is used.” For example, manadim, mantradim.

The instrumental case suffixes are given in the next sūtra : “ The instrumental has -im, -indam, -inde as suffixes. For these three, the -e is used.”

SDS 117

There are three suffixes for the instrumental case, viz., -im, -indam, and -inde. Instead of these three, -e is used.

Examples :

vāhaḷiyim, muḷisindam, aḷḷegaḷinde, kramade, nagade, bhayade.

The next sūtra deals with the various changes of instrumental case : “ In words ending in u, ū, ṛi, ṛī, au, o and e, the form -in occurs in the instrumental case. In the instrumental case and in the -v sandhi, -in appears optionally.”

SDS 118

u :	taḷirvāsu	taḷirvāsininde
ū :	pū	pūvina
ṛi :	pitṛi	pitṛivina
ṛ :	ṛī	ṛīvina
au :	glau	glauvina
e :	ninne	ninnina
consonant :	sūḷ	sūḷina
optional -in :	mātim	mātinim
optional -v sandhi :	maḍuvam	maḍuvanim

“In the instrumental and in a few other cases -u ending verbal nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals and measurement words get -aḡ. In the words indicating direction -aṇ occurs.”

SDS 120

Examples :

verbal noun :	māḍidudaḡim, uṇbudaḡke
pronoun :	peḡavaḡa, adaḡa
adjective :	kiḡidaḡoḷe
numerals :	mūḡaḡim, nālkaḡim
measurement :	anitaḡim, initaḡam
for -aṇ :	mūḍaṇim, tenkaṇim, ettaṇim

The three suffixes for instrumental case listed by Kāśirāja are: -im, -inda and -inde. But it appears that at the root of these forms, there is -in in ancient Kannada. Generally, -im is used before a consonant and -in before a vowel³⁸. But, sometimes, -in occurs before a consonant. The -e suffix which comes in place of the three suffixes is, by some scholars, supposed to be the locative case suffix.³⁹

Examples :

oḷagu + e = oḷage.

Dative Case

In the following sūtras, the dative case is dealt with. “The dative case is used in sampradāna. It is used to denote taste, competition, jealousy, good, fear, prosperity, auspiciousness, hatred, cause, bowing, bad, analogy, desire, representation.”

SDS 140 & 141

Examples :

sampradāna :	Brāhmaṇaṇge gōvam koṭṭam
taste :	Kūsiṇge laḍḍugeyaḷti
competition :	Kaviḡe kavi munivam
jealousy :	Savatige puruḍipaḷ
good :	Pasuviḡe hitam tṛiṇam
fear :	Pāpakkanjugum takkam
prosperity :	Lōkakkadhikaṇītam
nature :	Siṃhakke śauryam
cause :	Sirigudyōgam
bowing :	Guruvingeḡagidam
bad thing :	Ātaṇge viṣamanikkidam

analogy :	Ātaṇḡitam takkam
representative :	Ā kabbakkī kabbamāytu
desired :	Bhaktaṇge varamanittam

“For the pronoun ēn, the nominative form is ētaḡ. For the dative ētaḡke, the form ēke is found. For the instrumental etc. there is the stem ētaḡ.”

SDS 122

In the next sūtra, some changes that are found in the dative case are mentioned. “In the dative the -a ending masculine gets a bindu before -ge. In the a- ending neuter, the suffix is optionally doubled. In consonant ending and vowel ending (other than -a) words, in the dative case, there is -ge irrespective of number and gender.”

SDS 123

Examples :

masculine :	arasaṇge, ātaṇge
neuter :	banake-banakke, polake-polakke
three genders :	kaviḡe, ākeḡe, tanuḡe
three numbers :	ninaḡe, kavigaḷge, kuruḷgaḷge

“In samāsa like forms of the dative there is no third letter g.”

SDS 124

Examples :

kāḷke, nālke, ētarke, adarke

In the next sūtra, the dative suffix for Sanskrit words is treated : “For Sanskrit masculine and feminine plural forms, when a dative case suffix is added, the final consonant is doubled optionally.”

SDS 125

For Sanskrit masculine and feminine words in the plural, dative suffix is optionally doubled. In Kannada words, too, there is such a doubling optionally.

Examples :

Sanskrit :	budharge-budhargge
Kannada :	sūḷeyarge-sūḷeyargge

The dative case suffixes listed by Kēśirāja are -ke (-kke) and -ge (-gge). Sometimes -ge comes with bindu (-nge). Of these forms, -ke appears to be older. The suffix -ke comes after neuter nouns ending in -a and the pronouns adu, idu, ānu, and -ge comes after masculine and feminine forms. So, the dative case suffix morpheme can be taken as only one with five allomorphs. Of these -ke occurs after -a ending neuter nouns and the pronouns adu, idu and ān; -kke is in free variation with -ke in such forms as polake-polakke etc; -ge comes after masculine and feminine forms, and after neuter nouns ending in a vowel other than -a. For example, brāhmaṇage, ākege, kūsiḡe. The form -nge comes after -a ending masculine nouns.⁴⁰ For example, arasange; -gge is in free variation with -ge. For example, budharge -budhargge, sūleyarge-sūleyargge. Hence they constitute allomorphs of the dative case suffix morpheme.

It appears that the dative case suffix -ke can be further divided into (k - e). This -e is also used in the instrumental and locative cases. For example, kramade, nayade (instrumental), oḡage, horage (locative). Does this -e indicate direction? It should be enquired further.⁴¹

Ablative Case

“In the sense of “coming away from” (apādāna), the ablative case is used. It is used for fear, acceptance, desire, non-desire, purpose, birth, greatness etc.”

SDS 142

The case suffix for the ablative is -attaṇim.

Examples :

maradattaṇim paṇṇudirdudu.

greatness :	Krisnanattaṇim piriyaṁ Balabhadram
fear :	Huliyattaṇindanjidem
acceptance :	Svāmiyattaṇim nirvāhamādudu
desire :	Rambheyattaṇim sukham prāptisidudu
non-desire :	Pageyattaṇim bandhanam bandudu
purpose :	Udyogadattaṇim siri bandudu
birth :	Sadvaṁśadattaṇim puṭṭidam

“For ablative -at is used. To that -at three suffixes of the instrumental case, viz., -im, -inde, -inda are affixed and the -e of the instrumental is left out.”

SDS 126

-at is the case suffix for the ablative, according to Kēśirāja. This -at becomes -attaṇ and to this attaṇ, one of the three suffixes of instrumental case is added viz., -im, -indam, -inde. So the suffixes will be -attaṇim, -attaṇindam, -attaṇinde.

There is a question whether there is an ablative case at all in Kannada. Another question regarding the ablative is, is it necessary for Kannada? The first question Kēśirāja answers in the affirmative; he has given the case suffix for the ablative case. Gai and Narasimhaiah state that there are no examples of the ablative in inscriptions of the 10th century.⁴² However, the suffix -attaṇim is found in Kavirāja Marga.⁴³ This suffix is also common to the instrumental case suffix. That means, the instrumental case suffix itself does the function of the ablative in Kannada. Hence, it is absent in Kannada. This view is held by the authors of Kaypidi.⁴⁴ Is the ablative case necessary? For, the instrumental case ‘karaṇa’ is the kāraka, and for the ablative ‘apādāna’ is the kāraka. So they are different. And even when the instrumental case suffix is used, the ablative meaning is conveyed by the context. Hence, why deny the existence of the ablative case? It may not have as much use as the others. But that is no criterion to decide whether there is a particular case or not. Hence, it can be said that the ablative case need not be banished from the case system. The instrumental case suffix and the ablative case suffix are homophonous forms.

Dr. Caldwell is very specific about the ablative case. ‘This case appears to have been included in the list of cases by Dravidian grammarians out of deference to the grammatical principles of the Sanskrit. It is true that, if we look at the construction and meaning of a Dravidian sentence, the signification of an ablative of motion will be found to exist, and it will be found to be expressed much more clearly even than in Sanskrit; but distinction is to be drawn between the existence of a case and the existence of a case sign, a regular technical suffix of case. The Dravidian languages have undoubtedly an ablative of motion, and many other ablatives besides, but I doubt whether they have any case suffix which belongs exclusively to the ablative of motion.’⁴⁵

Genitive Case

In the following sūtras, there is the treatment of the genitive case. “The genitive case is used to indicate relationship. Relationship

is characteristic of master, collectivity, family, vicinity, touch, etc".

SDS 143

Examples:

family :	emma aḷiyam, emma tammam
master :	ūroḍeyam, nāḍeṇṇeyam
collectivity :	āneya ghaṭe, ḡḷiya piṇḍu
parts :	marada kombu, koḍeya kāvū
symbol :	ṭoppigeya mānasam
vicinity :	keṇeya kōḍi, ūra mundu
relation :	nosala kaṇṇa dēvam
form of object :	ponna kōl

As all the cases are found in the genitive, it is called relation. The genitive case suffix is found in the next sūtra : "The genitive case is sometimes lengthened at the end. This length is used for sorrow, gaiety, etc."

SDS 127

Examples:

mṛiḍanā, jaṭanā, kuvarankarāmanā
bēḍagaḍa ninagātanoḷ calam (gaiety)
satyamam nuḍigaḍa nīnātanoḷ (order)

The genitive case suffix is -a and -ā (optionally), of which ā is earlier.

Locative Case

The locative case is presented in the following sūtras :

"In the sense of adhikaraṇa (location) the locative case is used. It is used to indicate decision, subject, spread, business, time 'sati'."

SDS 144

That which is the base is the location. There the locative case is used.

Examples :

location:	pāsinoḷ nidregeydam
quality:	ratnaṅgaḷoḷ māṇikyamuttamam
action:	kāduvaroḷ itam meygali
subject:	kiviyoḷ parcidam

spread:	pūvinoḷ kampu
behaviour:	tapadoḷ negaḷdam
time:	vasantadoḷ māvu kayvandadu
meaning of 'sati':	bare kaṇḍam-barpeḍeyoḷ kaṇḍam

The locative case suffix is given in the next sūtra: "For locative -alli and -oḷ are usually used. In directional words ending in -a, the optional -al occurs. In -u ending and directional words -e occurs."

SDS 129

Examples :

koḷanoḷ - koḷadalli
banadoḷ - banadalli
mūḍal, paḍuval
oḷagu - oḷage
poṛagu - poṛage,

In the next sūtra, a few individual words are treated: "mundu and pinḍu become muntu and pintu; māl becomes mel,"

SDS 130

The suffix -e is also used for the locative case. This is found in -a ending neuter words and -u ending direction words, and is used optionally. The modern view is that this -e used in the instrumental case is originally the locative case suffix. For example, mana - d - e, sanmala - d - e.⁴⁶

The locative case suffix may be divided into two types: Morphological which includes suffixes like -uḷ, -oḷ, and -e, and Periphrastic which includes mixed forms like oḷage, keḷage, and mēle. The forms -uḷ etc., do not appear to have been originally suffixes, as they are roots.

Vocative Case

"In the vocative case, always the nominative singular is dropped (i.e., either a vowel or a consonant is dropped). There are two kākus, viz., short and long."

SDS 134

Examples :

āmantraṇa :	dēva biṇṇapam
short kaku :	ele gaḷapa
long kaku :	kurupaṭī

"Everywhere in the vocative, there is e and ē at the end. For -a ending words, if e and ē occur, there is bindu in the middle. If there is no bindu for the plural -ar, optionally there will be e and ē."

SDS 135

Without distinction of masculine and feminine, in the vocative there is e or ē at the end. In -a ending words, if e and ē occur, there is bindu in the middle. In the plural -ar, where there is no bindu, there is, optionally, e or ē.

Examples:

feminine :	kōkilaṇādeye
masculine :	manuve
no bindu :	bhaṭṭare
optional :	ele tumbī, ele tumbi, ele tumbiye

"In the dual and plural, for -gaḷ and kaḷ, ira is added. For the roots of the plural there is the singular."

SDS 136

Examples :

-gaḷ:	suratarunandanagaḷira
-kaḷ:	dēviyarkaḷira
-ar:	naṭṭarira
root :	pāḍele tumbi
root+a :	bāra marāḷikāgamane

The vocative case has no kāraka. Its purpose is to attract attention of or call persons. The nominative form itself is used by Kannada grammarians for this purpose; sometimes the final vowel is lengthened. 'It can be said that, in Kannada, there is nothing which properly deserves to be styled a suffix or case sign of the vocative. It is formed merely by affixing or suffixing some sign of emphasis, or in certain instances, by suffixing fragments of the personal pronouns.'⁴⁷

Vibhakti Pallata (Transfer of Cases)

In the following sūtras, the phenomenon called Vibhakti Pallata is given: "All these cases may be transferred. In the sense of nominative and accusative, the genitive is used."

SDS 145

All the cases enumerated so far may be transferred everywhere. The genitive case may be used in the sense of the nominative and the accusative.

Examples:

genitive for nominative :	nṛpana pēḷe
genitive for accusative :	nīnenna konde

"For the nominative and the accusative, there is -al. Words indicating time, viz., andu, indu, undu, endu etc. are common to the nominative, accusative and locative."

SDS 131

Examples :

mūḍal (nom.)	mūḍal (acc)
andu (nom.)	andu (acc.), andu (loc)

"For a nominal base meaning number, gender and vocative, the nominative case may be used. The accusative case is used to indicate karma (object)."

SDS 137

Examples:

three genders:	Indram, kāmīni, āne
meaning:	niḍiyam, gujjam
number:	ondu, eṇaḍu, mūṇu

For the subject giving the instrumental meaning the nominative is used.

Examples:

vocative:	avam māḍidam – avanim māḍepaṭṭudu
nominative:	ele dēva rakṣisu.

"The accusative is found in the nominative, instrumental and dative. With linkages, the accusative is used for the ablative. The locative case suffix is used for the instrumental. For the ablative, the instrumental case suffix is also used."

SDS 146

Examples:

accusative for nominative:	nunṇuḷḷan for nunṇanuḷḷan
accusative for dative:	ponnam baḍḍige koṭṭam for ponnam baḍḍiyam koṭṭam

accusative for ablative:	māṇavakanattaṇim kāryamam besagoṇḍam for māṇavakanam kāryam besagoṇḍam
locative for instrumental:	koḍaliyim kaḍidam for koḍaliyoḷ kaḍidam
instrumental for ablative:	keṇeyattaṇim bandam for keṇeyim bandam

“For the genitive and accusative, the dative is used. For the locative, the nominative, genitive and dative are used. For the accusative, the nominative is used”.

SDS 147

Examples:

genitive for dative:	koḍeyoḍeyam – koḍegoḍeyam
accusative for dative:	siṣyanam kalpisidam – siṣyaṅge kalpisidam
locative for nominative:	ondu dinaḍoḷ bandam – ondu dinam bandam
locative for genitive:	cāgigaḷoḷ ballaham – cāgigaḷa ballaham
locative for dative:	tāvareyoḷ puṭṭidam – tāvarege puṭṭidam
accusative for nominative:	onduvarṣamanirdam – ondu varṣamirdam

In the following sūtras, Kēśirāja gives the changes in the stem-form of individual words. “In consonant ending words, pagal and iruḷ, –in occurs optionally. In āgaḷ and īgaḷ –in occurs regularly. In other places it is a fault.”

SDS 119

Examples:

optional –in :	pagalu, –pagalina
regular –in :	āgaḷina, īgaḷina
mistake :	beraḷina, koraḷina

“In directional words where –aṇ is affixed, it will be –a in the masculine. Where –aṇ is not found in directional words –d occurs.”

SDS 121

Examples:

– a :	mūḍaṇam, paḍuvaṇam, mēgaṇam
– d :	keladam, baladam, allidam

Kēśirāja's treatment of the case system clearly shows that it is put in the mould of the Sanskrit case system. All the eight Sanskrit cases are taken into Kannada irrespective of their applicability to the Kannada structure. The nomenclature of the cases also is that of Sanskrit being just a numerical enumeration: prathamā (first), dvitiyā (second) etc.

Some scholars divide the Kannada case into two categories. In the first category, the nominative, dative and the genitive cases are included; in the second category, the instrumental, ablative and locative cases are included.⁴⁸

The case suffixes in Kannada are post-positions or post-positional suffixes.⁴⁹ Dr. Caldwell says “Most of the post-positions are, in reality, separate words. Several case signs, especially in more cultivated dialects, have lost the faculty of separate existence, and can only be treated now as case terminations.”⁵⁰ But Dr. Caldwell's statement is not justifiable. He is led, it appears, by the locative case suffixes. The locative case suffixes are oḷ (← –uḷ), –alli, –e, –al etc. According to him, they can be used as independent words. To some extent, this is true. But the same does not hold good to other suffixes, and it is difficult to find traces of their word-status.

Kēśirāja has enumerated the changes that nominal bases undergo while taking case suffixes. Case suffixes can be applied only to the stem-form (prakṛiti). It cannot be affixed directly to the noun-base. The stem which takes the case suffix may have undergone a change or, may have retained its original form. Some such changes as are found in the stem form in relation to the original noun-form, are noticed by Kēśirāja (vide sūtra Nos. 119, 121 etc.). Such modifications are generally restricted to three cases, viz., the instrumental, genitive and locative. For example, maram, maramam, maraḍim, marakke, marada, maradoḷ. These examples of stems can be shown as mara –dim mara –d –a, mara –d –oḷ. Here, the first part is the nominal form, and the last, the case suffix. Both these have a meaning of their own. But it is difficult to assign any meaning to the middle component, viz., –d–. When case terminations are affixed to the nominal stem, some phonological change is noticed in the stem form. This change is due to the addition of one or more phonemes to the

nominal base before the case suffix. This change is termed āgama (augment) by our grammarians, and 'inflectional increment' by some modern linguists. Another term used by modern linguists is 'stem-formative'.⁵¹ -d- in marada etc. is such a stem-formative. There are six such stem-formatives in Kannada, viz., -d-, -y-, -w-, -an-, -in-, and -aṛ-. Of these, -y- and -w- may be considered as general factors due to the Sandhi phenomenon which can be observed in all the cases stated in the Sandhi section. But other forms, viz., -ad-, -an-, -in- and -ṛ- are conditioned. These four stem-formatives are affixed to the different kinds of nominal bases.

The basic requirement of the morpheme is the meaning or significance. The forms mara, -inda etc., are having meaning. Hence, they can be termed morphemes. But what about the stem-formatives? What meaning do they possess? To our knowledge, they do not have any. Still they can be considered as morphemes, as they are structurally very important, fulfilling as they do some important structural function. The function here is that of forming the stem. Without the addition of these forms, it is impossible, in Kannada, to add suffixes to the nominal bases. They are structurally inevitable, and hence significant. That is why they are considered as morphemes. As these stem-formative morphemes are devoid of meaning, they are called 'empty morphemes' empty of meaning.

The next question is whether these stem-formatives in Kannada follow the form of the nominal base or its meaning. In the following words, the stem-formative -d- occurs: eḍa, bala, agga, haggā, pustaka etc. The form of the word eḍa is vcv, that of bala is cvcv. Both can be brought together under one form, viz. (c) vcv - consonant at the beginning of the word is optional. The form of the word agga is vccv, and that of haggā is cvccv. And the form of the word pustaka is cvccvcv. In all these forms the stem-formative -d- occurs. Another feature of these forms to be noted is that all these are -a ending words. The words with the following forms get -d- as the stem-formative.

(c) v (c) c v
c v c c v c v

The form -n- is found with the words Rāma, Kāma, baṇṭa, tuṇṭa kuṇṭa etc. For example, Rāmana, Kāmanalli, baṇṭanim. The form of words like Rāma is cvcv. The difference between the previous and this one is that here the first vowel is always long where as in the

previous set it was short. This long vowel is limited to dissyllabic words, there too, without any consonant clusters. If there is a consonant cluster, (the first member being nasal) even though the vowel is short, the form -n- occurs in words like baṇṭa etc. The form of this word is cvccv. Here again the words are -a ending. The following rule can be given for -n-:

c ṽ c v
c v c c v

The stem-formative -in is found in the words nīru, kūlu, āḍu, kaṇṇu, maṇṇu, bisilu, esaḷu etc. The form of the words nīru, kūlu is cṽcv, and that of āḍu is ṽcv. The same form is also found for -n-. But the difference between the two sets is that -n- comes with cṽcv forms with the final vowel -a; whereas the form -in- is found in forms (c) ṽcv where the final vowel is -u.

The words kaṇṇu, maṇṇu etc., have the form cvccv, and bisilu, esaḷu have (c)vcv. So, in polysyllabic words, the length of the vowel is not important. The form -in- is found in the following forms:

(c) ṽ c v -u
(c) v c c v -u
(c) v c v c v -u

It can be seen that these stem-formatives go with a particular form. The selection of the particular stem-formative is decided by the form of the word. Hence, it can be said that the stem-formatives are decided by the form.

The stem-forms also go with the meaning.

We have established that (c) ṽcv and cvccv (with final -a) forms take -n-. But there are words like kāma, dāna, māna etc. with (c) ṽcv (with -a), and kaṇṭa etc. with cvccv(a) which take -d-. Hence the rule has to be modified and stated thus: the (c) ṽcv (with -a) and cvccv (with -a), which are masculine, take -n-; and neuter nouns with these forms take -d-.

There is one more stem-formative, viz., -aṛ-, which only follows meaning. The words with which this is found is iṣṭu, aṣṭu, ondu, eraḍu etc. According to form, there must be -in in these words; but there is -aṛ- instead. So the rule here is: in numerals and measurement words, and with third person neutre singular (e.g. adu -aṛ- adaṛa) only -aṛ- is found.

So, stem-formatives in Kannada follow the form in majority of the cases and meaning in some cases.

About the case system three factors can be recognised: *kāraka*, *vibhakti* and *pratyaya*. 'Kāraka is the relation between a noun or noun-phrase and a verb'.⁵² The *kāraḥ* are defined semantically. Such relation between the noun and a verb is of six kinds which are as follows:

kartā (the independent)

karma (that which is desired by the *kartā*)

karaṇa (the means)

sampradāna (one whom the *kartā* has in view in the act of giving something)

apādāna (movement away from the fixed point)

adhikaraṇa (the locus of the action)

Sambandha is not considered as a *kāraka* relation, since it expresses only a relation between two noun phrases in a sentence and not between a noun phrase and a verb. *Sambandha* which is expressed by the genitive case, is only indirectly connected with the case. Hence, it is not included in the *kāraḥ*.⁵³

The outward expression of the *kāraka* relation is done by *vibhakti*. Each *vibhakti* is assigned a primary representation of one *kāraka*. The definition of *vibhakti* by Kēśirāja is: '(The grammatical process) which divides the meaning of a word'.⁵⁴ The representation is as follows:

<i>kāraka</i>	<i>Vibhakti</i>
<i>kartā</i>	By nominative case in an active sentence; ⁵⁵ by an instrumental case in a passive sentence. ⁵⁶
<i>karma</i>	By accusative case in an active sentence; ⁵⁷ by nominative case in a passive sentence. ⁵⁸
<i>karaṇa</i>	By the instrumental case. ⁵⁹
<i>sampradāna</i>	By dative case. ⁶⁰
<i>apādāna</i>	By the ablative case. ⁶¹
<i>adhikaraṇa</i>	By the locative case. ⁶²

The *vibhakti*, which represents a particular *kāraka*, expresses itself by means of certain suffixes. Whereas the *vibhakti* (case) is a grammatical 'function', the suffix is a 'sign' to represent that case. But Kēśirāja is confused and has equated both, when he says 'antadaṁ

pratyayamembudu'.⁶³ The case signs for various *vibhakti* in Kannada, given by Kēśirāja are -m, -am, -im, -ke, -attaṇim, -a and oḷ.

The genitive case sign is also found in the scheme, though *sambandha* is not considered as a *kāraka*. This contradiction, viz., rejecting *sambandha* from the *kāraka* relation, but including the same in the cases, is difficult to explain. Almost all Kannada grammarians have done this. A feature of case signs in Kannada is that they are affixed to the basic stem in the singular; but to the stem plus plural suffix in the plural. In Kannada, the suffix is added in such a way that 'the constitution of the word is clearly visible', and this 'transparency of the morphological system is characteristic of Kannada and other Dravidian languages'.⁶⁴ Hence Kannada is called an Agglutinative language.

In a simple sentence, each *kāraka* has only one representation by a *vibhakti*. But the *kāraka* is represented by more than one case also. For this Fillmore⁶⁵ and other modern linguists recognise two structures in the language: 'deep structure' and 'surface structure'; 'The most apparent layer constitutes the surface structure'; and 'the structure lying beneath it is called the deep structure'.⁶⁶ For example, the subject of a sentence in the surface structure may represent: i) a *kartā*-logical subject, ii) a *karma*, iii) a *karaṇa*, and even iv) *adhikaraṇa*.⁶⁷ But in the deep structure, there is only grammatical subject. So, it may be said that the *kāraka* relation represents the deep structure and the *vibhakti*, the surface structure. The difference is between the function of the noun phrases in a sentence (surface structure) and their semantic values, or the relation with which they are connected with the verb in the abstract structures (deep structure). There is a difference in terminology also, as it should be, between these structures. Fillmore uses 'subject' and 'object' in surface structure, and 'agentive' and 'objective' in deep structure.⁶⁸

The single *kāraka*, or deep-case, may be expressed in surface structure in more than one way, i.e. by more than one *vibhakti*. For example, for the nominative, the genitive and dative cases may be used.⁶⁹ Similarly, a single *vibhakti* may represent more than one *kāraka*. For example, the dative case is used for the accusative.⁷⁰ The first phenomenon mentioned above is called 'diversification', and the second 'neutralization', in stratificational grammars. All this transfer of cases is treated under '*vibhakti pallaṭa*' by Kēśirāja and other grammarians. A particular case is transferred in a surface structure to represent a particular *kāraka* in the deep structure. This transfer of cases is also termed functional syncretism by some scholars.⁷¹

THE QUALIFIERS

"The words which terminate in -tu and -du as in oḷḷitu, mellitu, beṭṭitu, teḷḷitu, bisidu, asidu, kaḍidu, niḍidu, etc., are qualifiers. Sometimes -tu is doubled."

SDS 87

There are some qualifiers which end in -tu or -du. Of these only consonant in -tu is sometimes doubled. For example, baṭṭitu-baṭṭittu, taṇṇitu-taṇṇittu etc, as against karidu, biḷidu, paḷadu, bisidu and asidu.

In the next sūtra, Kāṣirāja speaks of the gender of these qualifiers: "The gender of the substantive will be for the qualifier also. Because of the substantive, the gender of the qualifier is effective. This is seen faultlessly in rūpaka."

SDS 167

There are two kinds: because of the qualifier, the gender of the substantive is adjusted; and accordingly to the gender of the substantive, the qualifier is adjusted. This is found in rūpaka.

In the verse 'udayastōnnata' etc., on the strength of the adjectives, the form 'nelanam' is to be readjusted as 'dharāvanite'. The examples for the strength of a substantive influencing the qualifier are ātam jagaddarpaṇam, a peṇ jagaddarpaṇe, adu jagaddarpaṇam.

"Poṛagu, oḷagu, posatu, paḷadu, eḷadu, - all these, when coming in compounds, drop the penultimate vowel and add -a."

SDS 68

Examples:

poṛa aḍi, oḷa aṭṭam

"In adjectives, -tu becomes the third varṇa. The first varṇa of -avu is dropped. In the masculine and feminine -ir, -ar, and -dir occur."

SDS 107

Examples:

oḷḷitu, oḷḷidu - avu oḷḷiduvu

beṭṭitu, beṭṭidu - avu beṭṭiduvu

"In the masculine, the words peratu, peradu, drop their final -tu and -du. In qualifiers, for -du, -a comes. If that qualifier has -tu, then there will be -da."

SDS 163

"For eḷadu, paḷadu, etc., if there is -a of the masculine, the middle will be short e. For the ri in baṛide, there will be u. For -tu in posatu, there will be b with bindu."

SDS 164

Examples:

eḷadu - eḷeyam

paḷadu - paḷeyam.

feminine : - eḷeyal

posatu - pasambam

Kāṣirāja does not give the definition etc., of the qualifier, but he straightway lists the forms ending in -tu (e.g. beṭṭitu etc.), and those ending in -du (e.g. biḷidu, karidu etc.)

As adjectives were previously listed as having dependent gender, i.e., being dependent on the substantive, it was not necessary to give sūtra No. 167 here. Because the gender of the adjectives follows that of the substantive, the second part of the sūtra was also not necessary, as the gender of the noun is also the gender of the pronoun or qualifier.

In sūtra 68, the forms poṛagu, oḷagu, posatu etc., are adjectival nouns. The forms -gu, -tu, -du etc. are forms which nominalize the adjectives. When these forms are dropped whether in compounds or other places, they are adjectives. Poṛa, oḷa etc. are adjectival forms.

Should it be stated, as Kāṣirāja has done, that the words poṛatu, peradu etc., would drop -du, -tu etc. and become adjectives, or is it better to state that to the adjectival forms the nominal suffixes like -tu, -du, etc. are added to form the nominal forms? The point is which is basic?

Dr. Caldwell says that 'Dravidian adjectives, properly so called, . . . are nouns of quality or relation, which acquire the signification of adjectives merely by being prefixed to substantive nouns without declensional change.⁷² In Kannada, adjectives are called 'guṇa vacanas'. But Dr. Caldwell says that these nouns of quality or relation become adjectives by position alone, without any structural change whatever, and without ceasing to be, in themselves, nouns of quality⁷³. As will be made clear, Caldwell's statement is partially true. For this purpose, let us study the structure of adjectives in Kannada. Adjectives do not change in gender, number and case according to the gender, number and case of the nouns they qualify. It may be observed that declinable participles, numerals and pronouns are also used as adjectives.

An adjective has two kinds of usage: attributively, and predicatively. If used attributively, it precedes the noun it qualifies. If used predicatively it comes after the noun, and agrees in number and gender with its substantive. Two types may be recognised in the attributives: pure adjectives, and nouns which by their position behave like adjectives. Pure adjectives are those which always qualify the noun. They are:

biṇu :	biṇugaḷi, biṇunuḍi
mel :	melnaḍe, melnuḍi
teḷ :	teḷgadampu, teḷnaḍu
tōr :	tōramuttu, tōradoḍe
kūr :	kūraṣi, kūralagu
nēr :	nērgoral
nuṇ :	nuṇdani, nuṇdoḍe
taṇ :	taṇgadir
bal :	balluli, ballāl
biṇ :	biṇpore, biṇmole
beḷ :	beḷgadir, beḷdāvare
asi :	asinaḍu, asiveraḷ
kaḍu :	kaḍunuḍi, kaḍukōpa
niḍu :	niḍumūgu, niḍudōḷ
in :	immavu, induṭi
ken :	kendāvare, kennīr
pasi :	pasidoval
kuḍu :	kuḍugol
kiṇu :	kiṇugatti
per :	perdoḍe, pergaḍe
nal :	nalnuḍi, nalvātu ⁷⁴
poṛa :	poṛa aḍi
oḷa :	oḷa aṭṭam
posa :	posa aḍake
paḷa :	paḷa aḷagu
eḷa :	eḷa ance
kari :	
biḷi :	
bisi :	

If the pronominal forms -tu and -du are added to the adjectives they make the noun forms. For example, posatu, biḷidu, karidu.

The second variety is that of nominal adjectives. That is, nouns which behave as adjectives. In Kannada, if two nouns come one after

another, the previous one qualifies the following. For example, ravi tejam, kapi buddhi, dhvani lipi etc. In these examples, ravi, kapi, dhvani are nouns. But because they have come before other nouns, they qualify those nouns.

The third category found in adjectives is the verbal adjective. When the stem, with the past or future tense suffix, comes before a noun, it behaves as an adjective. For example, maḍida kāryam, maḍuva kāryam etc. Similarly, āda, koṭṭa, tanda, biṭṭa aḷida, keḍisuva, kūduva etc.⁷⁵

The fourth category is a numeral used as adjective. For example, irpattondu divasam, mūgu tingaḷuḷ. Another type found in the numeral adjectives is where an adjective is formed by suffixing -aneyā to numeral. For, example, ēḷaneyā, eraḍaneyā etc.

In the same way, the suffixes -anna, -appa, -aha also form adjectives. Here, the point to be noted is that these suffixes are applied to the adjectives themselves. For example, taṇ + anna = taṇṇanna; beḷ + anna = beḷḷanna. Sometimes, they are applied to nouns derived from the original adjectives: For example, eḷa + du = eḷadu, eḷadu + appa = eḷadappa (pasu), beṭṭitappa dhvani, eḷeyāḷappa kuvāri, oḷḷitaha ratnam, piridaha icche etc.

It can be seen from the above that in Kannada there exist pure adjectives as well as positional adjectives. Hence, Dr. Caldwell's statement that all Dravidian languages contain only positional adjectives is only a partial truth.

Kāśirāja's treatment of adjectives is very meagre and piece-meal. More than adjectives themselves, he has dealt with adjectival nouns. It is left to us to derive adjectival forms from these adjectival nouns.

PRONOUNS

A variety of the noun is the pronoun (sarvanāma). "The words adu, idu, udu, āvudu, elladu, peḷatu, ēṇ, peḷadu etc. are nouns."

SDS 88

"The pronoun ēṇ is used, as it stands, for all genders, in the singular. It is also used in the plural in poetical works."

SDS 89

The pronoun *ēn* behaves as singular in singular forms, as plural in plural forms. It has the same form in all three genders. "The forms *nīm*, *ām*, *tām* ... are *vācyaliṅga*."

SDS 99

"For the nominative, the forms will be *nīn*, *ān* and *tān*. For the dative, *ninage*, *enage*, *tanage*. For the rest, *nin*, *en*, *tan*, which are stem forms."

SDS 157

"For *ninnadu*, *ennadu*, *tannadu*, there will be the forms *ninatu*, *enatu*, *tanatu*. Optionally, *ninattu*, *enattu*, *tanattu* are also found. For plural, the forms are *nimatu*, *ematu* and *tamatu*. Optionally, the consonant is doubled, as in *nimattu*, *emattu* and *tamattu*."

SDS 159

"If, after *emma* or *tamma*, there are words indicating numerals with a vowel beginning, the form *-utu* comes in the middle. The word *ondu* should not be used in the plural."

Examples:

nimmutirvarum, *emmutayvarm*, *tammutaguvarum*

"In the utterance, the word *ettana* becomes *ettantu*, and *ār* becomes *ārtu*."

SDS 160

"In the masculine, for the last *-du* of *adu*, *idu*, *udu*, the phoneme *-v* comes as a substitute. Sometimes, for *-du*, the form *-ta* occurs with the previous vowel long."

SDS 161

Examples:

adu-avam, *idu-ivam*, *udu-uvam*

plural: *avar*, *ivar*, *uvar*

-ta: *adu-ātam*, *idu-ītam*, *udu-ūtam*

plural: *ātangaḥ*, *ītangaḥ*, *ūtangaḥ*

"For the word *āvudu*, *āvam* comes in the masculine singular and *ār* in the masculine plural. For the word *elladu*, in all genders, the *ellam* form is found."

SDS 162

"For the form *-du* in the pronouns *adu*, *idu*, and *udu* in the feminine, the form *-vaḥ* occurs. If *-ke* is substituted for *-du*, as in the masculine, the previous vowel is lengthened."

SDS 165

Examples :

adu-avaḥ, *idu-ivaḥ*, *udu-uvaḥ*,

adu-āke, *idu-īke*, *udu-ūke*

"The last phoneme of the pronominal bases, when it comes in conjunction with the first phoneme of *avu*, is dropped. The form *-du* in the final position of adjectives is also dropped."

SDS 106

Kāśirāja's whole treatment of pronouns is very haphazard. There is, it seems, no basis for his treatment. The data relating to pronouns are scattered in many places. Hence, there is no consistent thread in his treatment; the data have to be gathered from many chapters. Further, there is no continuous treatment of the subject; it all appears to be piece-meal. Some pronouns are treated individually in one sūtra; some other pronouns in some other place. If, instead of talking of individual forms, had he treated the pronouns together, he would have avoided a great many slips as well as many unnecessary statements. Instead of saying that *nīn*, *ān*, *tān* are nominative forms, and in the dative will be *ninage*, *enage*, *tanage* etc., he should have given the base forms and the oblique forms. This should have been a comprehensive statement. Again Kāśirāja has committed a great fallacy by assuming some neuter nouns (e.g., *adu*, *idu*, *udu*) as basic, from which all other forms are somehow derived. Especially, the derivations of *avan*, *ivan*, *uvan*; *avaḥ*, *ivaḥ* *uvaḥ*; *ātam*, *ītam*, *ūtam*, and *āke*, *īke*, *ūke* from *adu*, *idu*, *udu* must be said to be fantastic. However, with all his weakness in his derivations, it is interesting to note that, like a true formal grammarian, he has derived the forms on the basis of the forms only without taking any help from the meaning. The formal grammarian in Kāśirāja makes his presence felt in at least one of these instances.

The pronominal forms given by him are:

nīn, *ān*, *tān*, *nīm*, *ām*, *tām*; *ninnadu*, *ennadu*, *tannadu*;

ninatu, *enatu*, *tanatu*; *nimatu*, *ematu*, *tamatu*; *nimattu*,

emattu, *tamattu*; *adu*, *idu*, *udu*; *avan*, *ivan*, *uvan*; *ātam*,

ītam, *ūtam*; *avaḥ*, *ivaḥ*, *uvaḥ*; *āke*, *īke*, *ūke*; *ēn*, *ār*, *āvudu*,

ettana, *ettantu*.

The pronouns in Kannada are divided into four classes:

Personal pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns

Reflexive pronouns

Interrogative pronouns

Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns are derived from pronominal bases susceptible to gender. These pronouns are declined like nouns. The pronouns of the first and the second persons, and reflexive pronouns do not change their gender. Their gender will be that of the nouns for which they are used.

A notable point is that Kāśirāja does not specifically say that *nīn*, *ān*, *tān* are pronouns. He terms them as *uktis*. While listing pronouns specifically, he only lists the other eight. The first person singular form given by Kāśirāja is *ān*, and the first person plural form is *ām*. In the first person plural, Kāśirāja has not mentioned a significant feature found in almost all the Dravidian languages; that is, the distinction between exclusive and inclusive plurals. As he has given only one form, *ām*, such a question does not arise. But the old Kannada which is being described by Kāśirāja did contain such a distinction, though in modern Kannada it is not found. We have evidence to show that two forms were found.⁷⁶ The first person plural inclusive form was *nām*, and the exclusive form was *ām*. The second person singular pronoun is *nīn* and its plural is *nīm*. The third person forms are susceptible to gender. Hence, there are three forms in the third person singular: *avan* (masculine) – ‘he’, *avaḷ* (feminine) ‘she’, *adu* (neuter) ‘it’. These forms indicate the distant person or object. Others are: ‘*ivan*’ (masculine), ‘*ivaḷ*’⁷⁷ (feminine), ‘*idu*’ (neuter). Kāśirāja also mentions intermediate forms like ‘*uvan*’, ‘*uvaḷ*’, ‘*udu*’, of which no tract is found either in the inscriptions or in any works available to us. Perhaps, he suggested a theoretical possibility.

In the third person plural, there are only two categories as against three in the singular. The distinction is between human and non-human forms. The human forms, viz., masculine and feminine form one set and the non-human viz., neuter forms another set.⁷⁸ The plural forms are: ‘*avar*–’ ‘they’, ‘*avu*–’ ‘they’, ‘*ivar*’ ‘these’ (near), ‘*ivu*–’ ‘these’ (near).

These personal pronouns have oblique forms before the case suffixes. The pronominal forms along with their oblique forms may be listed as follows:

Singular (oblique)		Plural (oblique)	
first person			
<i>ān</i>	<i>en</i> –	<i>ām</i> (excl.)	<i>em</i> –
		<i>nām</i> (incl.)	<i>nam</i> –
Second person			
<i>nīn</i>	<i>nin</i> –	<i>nīm</i>	<i>nim</i> –
Third person			
masc.	<i>avan</i> ⁷⁹		
fem.	<i>avaḷ</i>	<i>avar</i>	
neut.	<i>adu</i>	<i>avu</i>	
masc.	<i>ivan</i>		
fem.	<i>ivaḷ</i>	<i>ivar</i>	
neut.	<i>idu</i>	<i>ivu</i>	

The third person forms are formed by the combination of the demonstrative bases and the nominal suffix.

There are other forms in the third person like ‘*atam*,’ ‘*ītam*,’ ‘*ūtam*’ and ‘*āke*, ‘*īke*’ ‘*ūke*’. The forms ‘*atam*,’ ‘*ītam*,’ ‘*ūtam*’ will be considered under reflexive pronouns. Let us know about forms *āke*, *īke* and *ūke*. The composition of these forms is the demonstrative base *ā*, *ī*, *ū* and –*ke*. What is the meaning of –*ke*? In Tamil, the word ‘*kei*’ indicate femininity, and is used independently or in words *kei* – ‘*sister*’ *tangei*–*sister* which has, in Kannada, the form *tangi*.⁸⁰ As in Kannada, the final –*ei* (or –*ay*) of Proto-Dravidian is changed to –*e* in Kannada. This might have been the case in ‘*kei*’ form (→*ke*). This form, in conjunction with the demonstrative base yields the forms *āke*, *īke*, and *ūke*.⁸¹

demonstrative	3rd per. pronoun	gender / number	
<i>av/iv</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>φ</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>φ</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	<i>φ</i>
		<i>du</i>	<i>φ</i>

Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are three in number viz., *ā* (distant), *ī* (proximate) and *ū* (intermediate). These demonstrative forms underlie

the third person pronominal forms like 'avan' (ā+an-āvan), 'ivan' (ī+an-ivan) and 'uvan' (ū+an-uvan). These forms are also used as adjectives.⁸² For example, ā kaṭantūraṇaṁ. ī dharaniyuḷ.⁸³ Kēśirāja has not treated these separately.

Reflexive Pronouns

'tān' (first person singular) and 'tām' (first person plural) are the forms given by Kēśirāja. The oblique forms are 'tan' and 'tam' respectively. The reflexive forms are used in the honorific sense. Kēśirāja has given reflexive forms for the first person. Are there any reflexive pronominal forms for the third person also? Forms like 'ātam', 'ītam', and 'ūtam' are given by Kēśirāja. What may be their derivation? Kēśirāja says that -ta is substituted for -du in adu, idu and udu, which seems ridiculous. If that is so, any form can be derived from any form. If the demonstrative base ā, ī, or ū, is taken out from these forms, the portion that remains is tām. Can it be connected with the reflexive form? For example, ātam from ā-tām; ītam from ī-tām; and ūtam from ū-tām.⁸⁴ Hence, for the third person too, the reflexive pronominal category can be established.

Interrogative Pronouns

ēn, ār, āvudu, ettana and ettanta are the interrogative pronominal forms listed by Kēśirāja. Of these, ēn is used for every gender; ār is used for the plural, āvudu for the neuter gender only, ettana, with its variant ettanta, in the sense of direction.

COMPOUNDS

The word 'Samāsa' literally means 'brevity',⁸⁵ or concise expression. Hence, this grammatical device has the advantage of condensing a sentence without any change of signification. Here, not only two nouns are combined into a compound, but also their meanings to give a composite idea. Sarvavarman says, "nāmnām samāsa yuktārthaḥ" meaning 'unification of the two or more nouns'.⁸⁶

"Like the youngling being with the mother, nouns following the meaning, enter into a compound. Here, the case suffixes inside the samāsa are dropped".

SDS 173

When two words are combined to form a compound, the case suffixes of the first components are dropped.

Examples :

toṇya māvu = toṇmāvu
eḍeya nuḍi = eḍenuḍi
nīram kuḍidam = nīrguḍidam

"The addition, if it does not spoil what is already there, is āgama (insertion). Such additions are also dropped along with the dropping of case suffixes. The addition, if it affects the existing form, is ādesha (mutation)".

SDS 174

If there is some addition without affecting the existing form, it is called āgama (insertion). This insertion is for the purpose of adding case suffixes. Hence, if the case suffix is dropped, the āgama element is also dropped with it.

Examples :

mātina ballaham = mātuvalaham
nūṇaṇa pattu = nūṇapattu
teṇkaṇa vaṅkam = teṇkavaṅkam

The addition, if it affects the existing form is called ādeśa (mutation).

keḷagaṇa kombu = kiḷkombu
eraḍu mey = irmey

"There is no compounding between Kannada and Sanskrit words. Some forms used by poets in the past are allowed. If Kannada and Sanskrit words are mixed, it is known as arisamāsa."

SDS 185

Examples :

arisamāsa:	mukhatāvare, arasukumāram
previously used:	kaḍurāgam, mogarāgam, mārbalam
epithets:	Gajaduli, Gajapāṇu

Kēśirāja gives the nature of some compounds: "If it follows the meaning of the latter constituent, it is Tatpuruṣa. If mutually dependent the Tatpuruṣa becomes Karmadhāraya. If the first constituent is numeral, it is Dvigu".

SDS 175

As each of these compounds is separately treated, the detailed discussion will be attempted in the relevant places.

Examples :

tatpuruṣa:	malligenane, māṇikagempu, alarvakkī
karmadhāraya:	teḷgadampu, melnuḍi, kirugūsu
dvigu:	eraḷmātu, eraḷtaram, irpeṇḍir

The nature of many varieties is given: "If two or more words lead to a third meaning, it is Bahuvrīhi. Combination of words is Dvandva. If the first constituent is predominant, it is Avyayībhāva."

SDS 176

Examples :

bahuvrīhi:	kaḍucāgi, calavādi, niḍumūgi
dvandva: ⁸⁷	āṭapāṭakūṭaṅgal, maragiḍaballī
avyayībhāva:	kiḷpoḍe, aṅgay, aṅgāl

Some changes in the avyayībhāva are treated: "There is bindu for the last syllables of aḍi, mēgu. There is elision for the last syllable in the words mundu, pindu. Keḷagu becomes kiḷ".

SDS 177

Examples:

aḍi:	aṅgay, aṅgāl
mēgu:	mēṅgay, mēṅgāl
mundu:	muṅgay, muṅgāl, muṅjūr
pindu:	piṅgāl, piṁboḷtu
kiḷ:	kiḷkeṇe, kiḷpoḍe
pintu:	pintil, pintole

The examples aṅgay, aṅgāl can be broken down as an+kay and an+kāl. Is 'an' the resultant form of aḍi? In Tamil, the form is akam-kay. Can this 'an' be related to it? It requires further investigation.

The nature of a verbal compound is given: "In the verbal compound, the first member is kāra and the second member a verbal root. There is always bindu for the -a in Sanskrit words. For -a and -u in Kannada words, bindu is optional."

SDS 178

Examples:

dvigu :	irtale, mukkōl, nālveral
gamaka:	irbalaṁ, mūlokaṁ, nālbhujam

In Dvigu, there are only Kannada words, in Gamaka both.

karmadhāraya:	kirugūsu, pandaḷir, teḷgadampu
gamaka:	kiriyaṁagam, paṣiyabaṇṇam, niḍiyaṇālage
tatpuruṣa:	āḍumbolam, tūgundoṭṭil, pāḍundumbi
gamaka:	āḍidapolam, tūguvatoṭṭil, pāḍuvatumbi

If the meaning is spoilt in its absence, bindu is compulsory in Kannada; for example payaṇambōdam, gaḍaṇaṅgoḍam, kelasambokkam.

The nature of the Tatpuruṣa samāsa is given: "If it follows the meaning of the latter constituent, it is Tatpuruṣa." The examples are malligenane and māṇikagempu where the meaning of the first member is dependent on that of the second. In māṇikagempu, the emphasis is on kempu, and the component māṇika gives the idea of the nature of that red.

The changes in the Tatpuruṣa are dealt with: "The word-final phoneme is dropped sometimes. Sometimes, some vowel is inserted. For keḷage, there will be kiḷ and kin as mutation forms."

SDS 187

Examples :

dropping of the word-final phoneme:

oḷakōṇṇe, teṅgāḷi, aramane

insertion:

naṭṭegombu, naṭṭevane

kiḷ:

kiḷkombu, kiḷkaṇe, kiḷkaḍal

kin:

kinnīr, kinnelam

The Karmadhāraya samāsa is treated: "If mutually dependent, the Tatpuruṣa becomes Karmadhāraya." If, instead of one member being dependent on the other as in Tatpuruṣa, the two members are mutually dependent, it is Karmadhāraya. For example, melnuḍi, balmuguḷ. These examples are mutually dependent to give a composite meaning. A distinguishing feature between Tatpuruṣa and Karmadhāraya, as seen from the examples in Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, is that in Karmadhāraya, the first member is usually a pure adjective; whereas in Tatpuruṣa, the noun behaves as an adjective.

The changes found in the Karmadhāraya are given: "If the first member is a verbal noun and the second contains g, d, b, j, there will be bindu with i and u. In some words it is not found".

SDS 181

Examples:

u + g - um + g	ettuṅgōl, puṭṭuṅguruḍam
u + d - um + d	urkundore, tūgundoṭṭil,
u + b - um + b	ottumbaḷḷi, āḍumbolam
u + j - um + j	ārunjavvanam, tūgunjoḍar
optional :	siḍiyundale, iḷiyumboḷtu

Some samāsa words are given in the following sūtra : "suḍugāḍu, iḍugircu, aḍugūḷ, uḍugore, māḥudāṇṭu, biḍugaṇ, biḍuvāy, tuḍujoḍar, aḥugeṇe - all these are samāsas. There is no bindu even in -u ending words".

SDS 182

There is an interesting point here. The sūtra says that 'If the second member contains g, d, b, j, there is bindu with i and u'.

Examples :

ettu + koḷ - ettungōḷ
puṭṭu + kuruḍu - puṭṭunguruḍu
ottu + baḷḷi - ottumbaḷḷi

The basic words contain k, t, p, c, and not g, d, b, j, (except in the last one). The sounds g, d, b, j are found in the resultant samāsa. Hence, Kēśirāja should have said k, t, p, c, and not g, d, b, j.

"Even though there is no verbal noun, -u and -a ending words get bindu. When a is added to n and ṇ, and u to ḷ, there is bindu."

SDS 184

Examples :

- u :	kakkundaṇi, dakkundale
- a :	bakkambayal, kallaṅgaḍale
- n :	mīnambuḷ, bānaṅguḷige
- ṇ :	kaṇṇandoḷali
- ḷ :	beḷḷambaṭṭe

"For peṇage, there will be peḍa- mutated form and bindu. As in taḍagal, some people also pronounce it without bindu".

SDS 184

Examples :

bindu :	peḍangay, peḍandale, peḍaṅgal
no bindu :	peḍagay, peḍadale, peḍagāl

The examples show that whether there is bindu or not the examples are correct.

The individual words in compounds are treated : The word 'ella' becomes optionally long in final position. For the word 'mahat', 'mā' is the mutation form. There is no fault even if Sanskrit words come with these.

SDS 186

The changes common to some samāsas are given : "In Karmadhāraya, Dvigu, Dvandva, and Kriya samāsas, the word final syllable of the first member is dropped"

SDS 188

Examples :

karmadhāraya :	baḍavu + naḍu	baḍanaḍu
	arasū + nēṇil	aranēṇil
dvigu :	palavu + devasam	paladevasam
dvandva :	tamma + tamma	tamtamma
verbal :	pogu + tandam	pōtandam

"In Karmadhāraya, in the word middle position, a occurs. Sometimes the word middle part is dropped."

SDS 189

Examples :

dropping of the final part and insertion of a :

baṭṭittu + toḍe	baṭṭadoḍe
beṭṭittu + bēsaḡe	beṭṭavēsaḡe

dropping of the middle word :

alarantappa + kaṇ	alargaṇ
	perenosal, tumbiguruḷ

"In Karmadhāraya, if the second member is a substantive, the penultimate vowel of the first member is dropped. The word beginning i- sometimes becomes e-."

SDS 190

Examples :

dropping of the penultimate vowel : teḷvasiṟ, oḷnuḍi
i → e : permole, permaram permāvu
no change : biṅgone, biṅpoṟe, immāvu

"If a vowel follows, the short vowel at the beginning of the word becomes long. ʈ, ṇ, ḷ, n, t at the end of the first member are doubled".

SDS 191

Examples :

length : pērāne, pēraḍavi, pērokkal, pēraḍi
doubling :
n : peṇṇuḍe, taṇṇelar
ʈ : kaṭṭāyam, kaṭṭeḷge, kaṭṭaḷke
ḷ : beḷḷāne, oḷḷāḷ
n : innuṇisu
t : kuttaḍi, kittiḷe, kuttesaḷ, kittaḍi

Optionally, even if a consonant follows, the initial vowel is lengthened.

Examples:

incaram, imbuḷi, ingaḍal

"If a vowel comes after the words kaḍidu, niḍidu and naḍuve the ḍa in these words becomes ʈ. For the r in kiṟidu there is t. Similarly, in kuṟu there is t. If a consonant follows, there is u in the previous word."

SDS 192

Examples :

ʈ : kaṭṭāl, kaṭṭubbasam, niṭṭaḍakil
naṭṭaḍavi, naṭṭālam, naṭṭiruḷ
t : kittaḍi, kittale, kittesaḷ
u : kaḍugudure, kaḍugali, niḍuḍoḷ
naḍumālam, kiṟugūsu, kiṟunelli

"For ca in paccane, keccane, beccane there is m. For ke- in keccane, there is ce- sometimes. For the final -m in these words, there is -su, and for -e there is -i."

SDS 193

Examples :

paccane+taḷir pandaḷir, pandoval, pandale
keccane+jeḍe kenjeḍe, kengoḍe, kendaḷir

beccane+kadir

ce-

i - su :

beṅgadir, beṇṇīr

ceṅganagile, cembon, cendeṅgu

kisugaṇagil, kisugal, kisugaṭṭu

bisugadir, bisunettar.

pasungaṟi, pasurvandar

paccōle, paccaḍake

kēsaḍi, kēsakki, kēsuri

"In compounds, the final ḍ of the first member, if followed by a consonant becomes ḷ; for r there is r. 'Optionally' means even in non-compounds."

SDS 194

Examples :

ḍ → ḷ : kākḷkircu, kōḷkuṭṭu, nālḷkaḍe
r → r : kesarmallige, nēsarmayaṇam
non-compounds : onderaḷmūru, kesarmasagidudu

"For kiṟidu kuṟu, for beṭṭitu biṟu, for koṅku kuḍu are the mutation forms. r whether in compound or not is doubled".

SDS 195

Examples :

kuṟugaḍḍam, kuṟugay
biṟubirdam, biṟugāli,
kuḍuvuvu, kuḍugol
doubling of r : nīrrvānase, kārrgāl
in non-compounds : bērrparidudu, kērrkeḍedudu

In the next few sūtras, the Bahuvrīhi compound is treated : "If two actions are common, it is Bahuvrīhi. For the first word final, there will be -a, and for the second word final -i."

SDS 196

If the action is done by both components together, it is Bahuvrīhi. For example, the battle where swords are used by both parties is : khaḍgākhaḍgi. Other examples are danḍādanḍi, dhāḷadhāḷi.

"Optionally, the compound final in Bahuvrīhi gets -a or -i. If the second member is 'illa', the final syllable becomes -li. If the word kol is the second member, it becomes kuli."

SDS 197

Examples :

- a : alargaṇṇam, baṭṭadoḍeyam, kēsaḍiyam
- i : kaḍugelasi, niḍumūgi, calavādi

- li : pallilivāy, beḷagiligaṇ, nāṇiliven
 - kuli : mīṅguli, aṇaguli

Some changes in Dvigu are noted in the next sutra: "For ondu, *or-* is the mutation form. For eraḍ u, *ir-* is the mutation form. In eraḍu -u is dropped and ḍ become ḷ."

SDS 198

Examples :

- ondu + nuḍi = ornuḍi
 ondu + pesar = orpesar
 ondu + pidi = orpidi

dropping of u : eraḷkudure, eraḷmātu

"If a consonant follows, the final syllable of mūru is dropped. If k - varga or p - varga follows, the consonant is doubled, and the previous one is shortened. If a vowel follows, there is *muy-* for mūru."

SDS 199

Examples :

dropping of final

syllable of mūru : mūviṭṭi, mūgoṇku, mūnūru
 shortening and doubling :

in other vargas : muccōṭu, muccāre
 sometimes, no doubling : mūgeṇ, mūgāvudam
 muy : muyyaḍi, muyyiraḍi

"In the word nāḷku, the final syllable is dropped. There is the shortening of the vowel in āṇ. For ēḷu, ēḷ is the mutation form. The final syllable of eṇṭu is dropped."

SDS 200

Examples :

- nāl : nālvaḍi, nālvattu, nālveral
 ay : ayvaḍi, aygaṇḍugam
 āru : aṇuvaḍi, aṇuvattu, aṇunūru
 ēḷ : ēḷpattu, ēḷkaḍal, ēḷpore
 eṇ : eṇbattu, eṇdese

"If pattu follows, ombattu becomes tom-. If the second member is nūru or sāsira, ombattu gets ombay- as mutation form."

SDS 201

Examples :

tombattu, ombaynūru, ombaysāsira

"If pattu comes before sāsira, it becomes payin. Sometimes, for nūru and sāsira, the final vowel is dropped".

SDS 202

Examples :

payinchāsiram, nūrmaḍi, nūrmālu, sāsirmaḍi, sāsirvar.

"If ondu or eraḍu are the second members, pattu becomes pan-. If mūru and nāḷku come as the second member, pattu becomes padi-. If a vowel follows in the rest, n is inserted."

SDS 203

Examples :

- pan : pannondu, pannerāḍu
 padi : padimūru, padināḷku
 n : padinaydu, padināru
 pat : pattombattu

Now Kēśirāja has introduced the Gamaka samāsa: "If the first member is a numeral, pronoun, adjective or verbal theme, it is called Gamaka. There will be -a- in the middle and -i after that -a-. There is no arisamāsa fault in Gamaka. It is a variety of Karmadhāraya. Owing to -um, it is Tatpuruṣa everywhere."

SDS 179

Examples :

- numeral tatpuruṣa : irpattaidu, nūrpattu
 pronouns : āvamātu, āvakāryam, āvakānte
 adjective : asiyanāḍu, pasiyabaṇṇam
 krit : pāḍuvatumbi, āḍidapolam
 no arisamāsa : bīsuvačāmaram, poḍevabhēri

"In Gamaka, in place of adu, idu, udu, there will be a, i, u as mutation forms. In the opinion of ancient scholars, a is used in 'rūḍhi'".

SDS 180

Examples :

- adēśa : ā mane, ī mane
 remembrance : nenedanā hiraṇyakam
 prasiddhi : gajahayarūḍhiyoḷābhagadattaninā
 naḷanim migiladam

Before considering such a question as to whether Gamaka samāsa is to be treated as samāsa etc. let us be clear about the Gamaka samāsa itself.

Kēśirāja has stated the characteristics of the Gamaka samāsa in two sūtras (Nos. 179 and 180). If the first member of a compound is a numeral, pronoun, adjective or verbal theme, and the second member is a kāraka, it is called Gamaka samāsa. Let us consider one after other: all adjectives are not pertinent to Gamaka samāsa. It should have -i in the middle of the word, e.g., asidu, pasidu, kiridu, niḍidu, etc., and there must be -a- after -i in the samāsa. For example. asiyaṇaḍu, pasiyaṇaṇṇam, kiṇiyamagam, piṇiyamagam.

Examples :

pronoun :

āvanāyakam, āvakānte, āvakāryam

numerals :

irpattaidu, muvattaḡu, nūḡupattu

Verbal themes :

pāḍuvatumbi, āḍidapolam, poḍevabhāri, piḍivakahaḷe

adu, idu, udu :

ā mane, ī mane, ū mane

ellakāryam, māḍāni, māḍēvi

The above examples reveal the following:

1. In Gamaka samāsā, both the first and second words are in the same case. According to Sanskrit grammarians, such instances are examples of Karmadhāraya samāsa.

Examples :

asidu+ṇaḍu - asiyaṇaḍu

āvudu+mātu - āvamātu

That is why Kēśirāja calls Gamaka samāsa a variety of Karmadhāraya.

2. In āvakāryam, piḍivakahaḷe, etc., there are both Kannada and Sanskrit words. Such combinations are not possible in Sanskrit. Hence it cannot be Karmadhāraya. Such instances usually lead to arisamāsa.

All the same, they are there in Kannada. Such instances are accommodated in Gamaka samāsa and there is no arisamāsa in it.

3. In pasiyaṇaṇṇam, asiyaṇaḍu, the words pasiya, asiya appear to be the mutated forms of pasidu, asidu; but they are used in their original forms. Similarly, in irpattaidu, mūvattaḡu, nūḡupattu the forms irpattu, mūvattu, nūḡu are very clear. Again, in āḍuvapolam, pāḍuvatumbi, the words āḍuva, pāḍuva, although mutation forms of āḍuvudu, pāḍuvudu, are forms in daily usage. a, i, which are the mutation forms of adu, idu, are also in daily usage. In āvanāyakam, āvakānte the term 'āva' is clear by itself. As there is an element of explicit clarity in all these examples, it is termed Gamaka samāsa. The meaning of Gamaka is "making clear, or intelligible".⁸⁸

4. The examples piṇiyamagam, pasiyaṇaṇṇam, for Gamaka samāsa are permagam, pasuvaṇṇam for Karmadhāraya. These terms are not found in current usage. The examples pāḍuvatumbi, āḍidapolam (Gamaka) are pāḍundumbi, āḍumbolam (Karmadhāraya). Hence the difference is one of terminology.

5. Let us consider the difference between Tatpuruṣa, Karmadhāraya, Dvigu and Gamaka. There is no arisamāsa in Gamaka; whereas such a fault is found in the other samāsas. The examples irtale, mukkōl, nālveral are for Dvigu samāsa, whereas mūlōkam, nālbbhujam are for Gamaka. In the Dvigu there are only Kannada words but in the Gamaka both. Kurugay, niḍumūgi, pandaḷir are Karmadhāraya, whereas kiṇiyamagam, niḍiyanālage, pasiyaṇaṇṇam are Gamaka. āḍumbolam, tūḡundoṭṭil, pāḍundumbi are Karmadhāraya, but āḍidapolam, tūḡuvatoṭṭil, pāḍuvatumbi are Gamaka.

Some scholars⁸⁹ are of the opinion that the Gamaka samāsa is not necessary as it can be accommodated in one of the existing samāsas. Many⁹⁰ do not agree with this view. Since the existing varieties of Sanskrit samāsas do not accommodate some of the peculiar expressions of Kannada, they thought that a new variety was necessary. That is what Kēśirāja has done, by giving the name of Gamaka samāsa to such varieties.

According to Kēśirāja the case suffix at the end of the first word is dropped in samāsa. But in the examples pāḍuvatumbi, āḍidapolam, āvanāyakam and āvakānte, no such dropping of the case suffix is found. Moreover, these examples are pronounced as if they are two separate words. The varieties which are outside these criteria, are

accommodated in one of the existing varieties of Sanskrit samāsa, which are already imposed upon the Kannada structure. Hence, it appears that Gamaka samāsa need not be taken as a separate entity. The fact that Gamaka samāsa is not found in Nāgavarma, and that it is Kēśirāja who coined it neither proves nor disproves the case.

The treatment of samāsa so far reveals that there can be only two broad divisions in samāsa, which are Bahuvrīhi and Tatpuruṣa. In Bahuvrīhi, the two components lead to the third meaning. If it follows the meaning of the latter constituent, it is a Tatpuruṣa. For example, malligenane, māṇikagempu etc. The definition of Karmadhāraya, according to Kēśirāja is: 'If mutually dependent the Tatpuruṣa becomes Karmadhāraya.' That means, Karmadhāraya is a variety of Tatpuruṣa. The other varieties can also be easily included in the above. If the first component is a numeral it is Dvigu; if both components are equal, it is also Dvigu. If the first component is predominant, it is called Avyayībhava; and when the second member is a verbal form, it is a verbal compound. Hence, it is a question of the predominance of one component over the other, that is responsible for many varieties. Otherwise, they belong to the same broad genus.

Therefore, there are only two varieties of samāsa: one, where the meaning of the samāsa, is the meaning of one of the components; and the other, the meaning of the samāsa is different from that of either of the components. This corresponds to the modern classification of constructions into endocentric and exocentric. In the endocentric construction, the centre is inside the resultant construction, that is one of the constituents of the construction has a centre. For example, blackbird. Here the first component is an adjective and the second a noun; the resultant construction is a noun. In the exocentric construction, the centre is outside the two components. For example, pickpocket. Here, of the two terms 'pick' is a verb and 'pocket' is a noun, but the resultant construction is an agent noun. It appears that the two systems, though not so described, are essentially the same.

Derivative Terms

Kēśirāja lists the derivative suffixes without saying anything about their nature. "In the sense of doer, seller, profession, untruth, knowledge, debt, action, architect etc., the suffix -iga is used."

Examples:

doer :	kabbigam, sāligam, toṭṭigam
seller :	dūsigam, taṃbuḷigam
profession :	haḍapigam, cāmarigam
knowledge :	jōyisigam, lekkigam
untruth :	māḷigam, pusigam
debt :	sāligam, hangigam
architect :	chippigam
māla :	mūligam

For the -iga suffix different meanings are given in the sūtra. -iga primarily denotes doer; and in some cases the seller and profession. Regarding other meanings like knowledge, untruth, debt, architecture etc., it is doubtful whether the suffix -iga denotes them or it is inherent in the forms. In the words jōyisigam, lekkigam (knowledge) -iga denotes profession. In māḷigam, pusigam (untruth), the meaning given is not denoted by the suffix, but by the base. The suffix denotes the agent and masculine gender. Similarly, in Sāligam (debt), chippigam (architect), the suffix expresses the agent and masculine gender. -iga is the predominant derivative suffix expressing the agent and masculine gender.

"In the sense of doing a job -vaḷa, -vaḷḷa and -āyta are used. In the sense of 'to put' the suffix -vaḍiga is used.

SDS 209

Examples:

-vaḷa :	aḍapavaḷam, maḍivaḷam
-vaḷḷa :	aḍapavaḷḷam, maḍivaḷḷam
-āyta :	suḷāyṭar, kallāyṭar, daṅgāyṭar
-vaḍiga :	kuncavaḍigam, pullavaḍigam

The first two suffixes also indicate the masculine gender. The two suffixes -vaḷa and -vaḷḷa are used in the same words. That means they are considered identical. Then the question is which of the two forms is earlier? In the earlier works, the form -vaḷḷa occurs.⁹¹ It is only in the later works that -vaḷa occurs. Hence -vaḷḷa may be considered as the earliest form⁹². Some scholars feel that -vaḷḷa is derived from the Sanskrit pala⁹³. But the earliest of the three forms is -vaḷḷa. The suffix -pala becomes -paḷa, and then -vaḷa. Whatever the change, it must have taken place after -vaḷa. Hence the theory is hard to accept⁹⁴. It has to be investigated whether -vaḷḷa is to be connected with -uḷ, which is a Dravidian root.

The suffix -āyām is composed of āy- 'to collect' and -t. The resultant form itself came to be used as a single suffix. -vaḍiga will be treated with -aḍiga etc.

"-kāra is used for one who operates and -gāra for one who performs. After the words kamma, kumba, the -ga in -gāra is dropped.

SDS 210

Examples :

-kāra :	naḍevalikrāam, bāhukāram
-gāra :	mālegāram, belegāram
dropping of -ga:	kammāram, kumbāram

In -kāra (doer) a sanskrit suffix is found. This -kāra has given rise to kāra and -gāra. What remains after the dropping of -ga is -āra. Is it not possible to establish -āra itself as a separate suffix? Is it from -āra 'to be able'?

"If the suffix is -gāra, and the word before that suffix ends in -u, then the bindu occurs, and -u becomes -a. In the sense of 'he is born out of it' the suffix -ica is found. Sometimes the penultimate long vowel becomes short".

SDS 211

Which is the penultimate vowel here? Whether it is to be referred to the derivative word, or to the basic word? From the examples it can be seen that it is the basic word.

Examples:

bindu:	pāḍungāram, jūḍungāram
u/a	kanchagāram
-ica:	poḷalīcam, alarīcam
short vowel:	kālūricam - kālurīcam

"In the sense of 'deeply engaged in' the suffixes -kuṭiga and -ga are found. In the sense of 'lives in it' -uḷiga is used."

SDS 212

Examples :

-kuṭiga:	kalkuṭigam, marakuṭigam
-ga:	mātugom, bātugam, kantegam
-uḷiga:	dāvūḷigam, māṇṇuḷigam

The suffixes -kuṭiga and -ga are said to be used in the same sense. But it appears that they have to be distinguished. From the examples it appears that -kuṭiga is used in the sense of being deeply engaged in some profession. But the same is not true of -ga as is not applied to any profession. The form -kuṭiga can further be divided into kuṭ- (kuṭṭu) and -iga. The form -uḷiga is traced to uḷ (uḷ → uḷ) 'to cultivate' and -iga.

In the sense of 'one who takes' and 'that character' the suffix -guḷi is used with bindu. In the sense of 'one who has' the suffix -uṇi is used."

SDS 213

Though -guḷi is the given suffixal form, it can be further divided into two parts: -guḷ and -i. Here -i is a derivative suffix and -guḷ is from the root koḷ 'to take'. The phoneme *k* in koḷ has become -g between two vowels. The change of o into u is a historical process. The process here is 'the close vowel mutation'.⁵⁵ In the environment of the close vowel i, the preceding open vowel becomes a close one, viz., u. The form -uṇi similarly has two components, the root uṇ and the derivative suffix -i.

"In the sense of 'character' the suffix -uka, -kuḷi, -āḷi, -ika, -aḍiga are used".

SDS 214

Examples :

-uka :	kaṭṭukam, aṇṭukam, saṇṇukam
-kuḷi :	porkuḷi, irukuḷi
-āḷi :	ōdāḷi, jūdāḷi, mātāḷi
-ika :	karīkam, husīkam, rasīkam
-aḍiga :	dāvāḍiga, pūvāḍiga, pāvāḍiga

-kuḷi which reveals 'the nature' is not much different from -guḷi. But how to connect it to koḷ- from the point of view of meaning?

The form -āḷi appears to be from āḷ- 'man' and -i derivative suffix indicating that a particular person has that nature.

The form -aḍiga is split into -aḍi and -iga. This may be traced to āḍu + iga = āḍiga → aḍiga. The form -vaḍiga mentioned in sūtra 209, appears to have reference with aḍiga, but how it has become vaḍiga is difficult to explain.

"In -the sense of operating, and living the suffix -uga is used. The suffix -aṭiga is also used in the sense of doing, torch-bearer etc."

SDS 215

Examples :

-uga :	nārugam, bērugam, ūrugam
-aṭigam :	kollaṭigam, māvaṭigam, dīvaṭigam

The suffix -aṭiga may be traced to two components -aṭ and -iga. This at (- aṭa) may be traced to āṭa (from āḍu). The word kollaṭiga may be split into koll+and aṭiga. According to the sūtra, if -aṭiga is taken as suffix, kol- is to be taken as the base form. It is from kōl (bamboo - stick), which is a particular kind of gymnastics.

The torch-bearer is dīvaṭiga and is explained by Kāśirāja as 'dīvigeṇīdāḍuvam'. According to him dīvige is the word which is suffixed. But it may be explained as dīpa+aṭiga=dīpāṭiga→dīvaṭiga→dīvaṭiga. Same is the case with māvaṭiga. Dr. Kittel gives this word in his Dictionary⁹⁶ as mā-v-aṭiga.

"The suffix -k is used in the sense of 'one who possesses the character of' and -ila is used to mean 'one who operates in that.'"

216 SDS

Examples :

-ka :	baḍakam, niḍukam, kiḍukam
-ila :	paccayilam, paḍeyilam, gāvīlam

The suffix -ila is used in the sense of "one who operates in". Hence, he who operates in rubies, is paccayilam, one who operates in horses (ghōḷ-ghōḍa) is ghōḷayilam- 'horse trader'. The sense of operation is found in gāvīlam and Paḍeyilam. Paḍeyila means 'one who is in the the army'. Gāvīla (grāma-ila)⁹⁷ is 'one who is in the village'. Hence, -ila in these words denotes one who lives in.

"In the sense of 'there is the thing the suffix -uḷla, -oḍeya, -vanta are used. In the sense of 'whose occupation is eating', -vaṇiga is used".

SDS 217

Examples :

-uḷla :	dhanamuḷlam, guṇamuḷlam
-oḍeya :	permeyoḍeyam, cāgadoḍeyam
vanta :	sirivantam, jayavantam
vaṇiga :	sālavaṇigam, gandhavaṇigam

The three suffixes -uḷla, -oḍeya and -vanta have the sense of possession. Is -vaṇiga (vaṇa-iga) from up ?

"In measurement, numerals etc., the suffix -aneyā and in counting the suffix -me are used."

SDS 218

Examples :

-aneyā :	ondaneyā, eraḍaneyā -aney gives the sense of adjective
-me :	orme, irme

"In the feminine, the suffix -iti, with the dropping of the first vowel -i, is used after -a ending words. Sometimes, even in non -a ending words -i is dropped; -a ending words sometimes get-aḷ. Optionally -a become -e".

SDS 219

Examples :

-iti :	maddaḷigiti, kannaḍigiti, okkaligiti akkasāliti
dropping of i :	maṇigārti, mālegārti, polati
-aḷ :	avaḷ, ivaḷ, piṇiyaḷ
-aḷ in krits :	ōsarīsidaḷ, rāgisidaḷ
a → e :	sitage, cadure

The suffix -iti occurs in many words, with the first vowel -i dropped in some words. In most of the words given as examples for -iti it comes as a second suffix, already one derivative suffix being there.

The suffix -iti is usually derived from Sanskrit *strī*, via Prakrit *itthi*. But there are pure Dravidian words like keḷadi, maḍadi etc., where -di or -adi is found. Hence this -iti may be traced to -adi or -di, a pure Dravidian suffix.⁹⁸

SDS 220

-aḷ is a suffix denoting feminine gender.

"If the derivative suffix is there, the word-final vowel or syllable is dropped. In the derivative form, the nature of compound and verbal themes are also found."

Examples :

dropping of the vowel :	Telungiti, dēsigiti, hādarigiti
dropping of -ru, du :	ērutam-ētam, ōdu-ōtam
compound nature :	mālegāra-mālegārti kancagārti, baḷegārti
verbal theme :	āṭam, pāṭam. kūṭa

Sometimes i, u, e are mixed with -v. In some places, there is -ta along with a and e."

SDS 221

-v :	toravi, aḷavi, baḷavi, peḷavu, maṛave eḷave
non-a ending :	uḷivu, kaḷivu. tiḷivu
-ta :	aṭitam, kaṭitam
-te :	agaḷte, pogaḷte, negaḷte

Instead of saying 'sometimes i, u, e are mixed with v,' it can be said that the usual Sandhi phenomenon takes place. Two other suffixes mentioned are -ta and te.

"In the sense of prosperity, -ike is found. In other places, -tana, -ume, -ame, -ge, -ke, -me, -pi, and -u are found."

SDS 222

Examples :

-ike :	unnatike, pannatike (not in consonant ending words)
-tana :	kalitana, eggatana, (not in Sanskrit words)
-ume :	takkume
-ame :	tīrame
-ge :	uḍuge, polge
-ke :	maḍike, kāṇke
-me :	olme, perme, jāṇme
-pu :	kaḍupu, melpu taṇpu
-pi :	kalpi, nōmpi
-u :	uggu, kivuḍu

-ike and -ke are given as two different suffixes ; -ike occurs in vowel-ending words, and -ke after consonant-ending words. Hence, in maḍike which is given as an example for -ke, it can be said that -ike is there, or it even appears that there is only -ke suffix.

-u also is considered to be a derivative suffix in uggu, kivuḍu etc. But though -u may be a derivative suffix elsewhere, here it may not be taken as a suffix. The original root form itself may be considered a derivative form.

"If the -pu, giving an abstract sense, is the second member, the ṛ in piṛidu becomes bindu, and the previous i becomes e. Thus, piṛidu becomes pempu. In the sense of character the -ka suffix is used.

SDS 223

-ka :	naḍuka, uḍuka
piṛidu + pu - peṛ + pu; pem + pu - pempu	

"The root-vowel i in the sense of 'characteristic' becomes e; and the root-vowel u becomes o and is lengthened. In the final position it also becomes -a. Even the root itself can be its character."

SDS 224

Examples :

i → e :	kiḍu - keḍu, isu-esu
u → o :	kuḍu-koḍu, tuḍu-toḍu
length :	iḍu-īḍu, biḍu-bīḍu, suḍu-sūḍu
-a :	āṭam, pāṭam, tīṭam, nōṭam
root :	taḍe, naḍe, urku, sorku

Length itself serves as the derivative suffix. So, the root iḍn becomes the noun īḍu, biḍu-bīḍu

By the addition of -a to the root, some derivative forms are created. In the examples, āḍu, āṭam, nōḍu-nōṭam etc., in addition to the -a, there is one more feature seen, viz., unvoicing of the voiced consonant, e.g., d- t (āḍu-āṭam etc.).

Sometimes, the root itself behaves like a noun. Hence, the derivative suffix here may be taken as nil.

About the forms which have changed to ei and u.

changed to o, the following observation may be made. In Kannada, historically two kinds of vowel mutations are found. The open vowel mutation, where, in the environment of the open vowel (only derivative suffix beginning with -a) the root vowel also became open. For example, suḍu-saḍ-arū, kila-kela And the close vowel mutation,

where in the environment of the close vowel, the root vowel also becomes a close one. This is found particularly in Kannada. For example the Tamil *eli* 'rat', becomes *ili* in Kannada and the Tamil *koṛi* 'sheep' becomes *kuṛi* in Kannada. The phenomenon of *o*→*u* was active in proto-old Kannada stage.⁹⁹ By the Middle Kannada stage (i.e. by the time of Kēśirāja), such forms as *kiḍu*, *kuḍu* etc., were more prevalent. Hence, he had to say, *i* becomes *e* and *u* becomes *o*.

"For comparison -vōl, -antē, antevōl and -vol are used. In -a ending words, bindu occurs and *v* is changed to *b*."

SDS 225

Examples:

-vōl :	jalanidhivōl, kulagirivōl
ante	giriante, kaviante
antevōl :	baliyantevōl
-vol :	kaḍalvol
-v-b :	Indrambōl, candrambōl

"-āyila is used irrespective of whether the word is in Sanskrit or Kannada. The other derivative suffixes may be recognised."

SDS 226

Examples :

Sanskrit :	gāḍhāyilam, rēkhāyilam
Kannada :	ōjāyilam, aḍḍāyilam

The suffixes are usually divided into categories, viz., Derivative suffixes, and Inflectional suffixes. Inflectional suffixes determine the function of the word. Derivational suffixes are responsible for forming words. If some suffix is added to the root, the resultant form may become a noun, an adjective etc. For example, *āḍu*-*āṭam*. *kūḍu*-*kūṭam*. By the addition of the derivational suffix, a noun form may become an adjective form. For example, *ondu*-*ondaneya*, *eraḍu*-*eraḍaneya*. Adjectives will become nouns by the addition of these suffixes. For example, *bisi*-*bisidu*, *posa*-*posatu*.

Usually, derivative suffixes are more in number,¹⁰⁰ compared to inflectional suffixes. Many of the suffixes given above are relevant examples.

INDECLINABLES

Kēśirāja straightway starts with defining indeclinables: "In imitation words, and words ending in *ane* there will be -g optionally".

SDS 315

Examples :

imitation words :	dhigilane, bhugilane, bhōrane
-adu :	nūṅkadu, nūḷadu
-ne :	kammane, immane
n - g :	neṭṭane - neṭṭage, kammane-kammage

"illa in the sentence is a verbal indeclinable. *Kiḷḷudu*, *nirner*, *nirneram* - are indeclinables."

SDS 316

"Indeclinables like *summane*, *summage*, *usika* indicate silence; and *gurugummage*, *binnage*, *binnane* indicate no action."

SDS 317

"The indeclinable *anum* is used in the sense of place, direction, time and numerals. Besides *aṇam*, and *āṇam* are used in the sense of 'whatever'."

SDS 318

Examples :

place :	elliyaṇum
direction :	ettānum
time :	endānum
numeral :	ondānum, eraḍānum
aṇa :	kāryamaṇamilla
āṇa :	guṇamaṇamilla

"The indeclinables *nāḍe*, *eḍe*, *āvagam*, *neṛe*, *nīḍum*, *karam*, *ādam*, *eyde*, *nūḷadu*, *piridu*, *nīḍu*, *mige*, *kennam*, *ellam* - give the meaning of excess."

SDS 319

"*bhōṅkane*, *cekkane*, *bhōrane*, *bhōṅkal*, *caḍapuḍane*, *girratirrane*, *beccara*, *kaḍuceccara* are used in the sense of quickness."

SDS 320

"The forms *ēgam*, *valam*, *veṇam*, *dal* indicate definiteness; the form *mattina* is used for 'different'; *bērevēre* gives the meaning of separateness."

SDS 321

"The forms *anu*, *tiṭṭane*, *tiṭṭane*, *baṭṭane* give the sense of movement, and the forms *oykane*, *neṭṭane* give the sense of clarity."

SDS 322

"The form *ahaha* is used to express pain; *akkaṭā* is used for surprise and sorrow; *ayyō* is used to express teasing or sorrow."

SDS 323

"The forms *ohō*, and *hō* are used in the sense of stopping; *oḍane* gives the sense of together. *gahagaha* expresses laughter; and *sōḍambāḍam* indicates big."

SDS 324

"*aḥ* and *āḥ* are used for surprise and fun respectively; *uḥ* is used for expressing sorrow, pleasure, intolerableness etc."

SDS 325

"In the sense of remembrance, thought, calling etc., *elele* and *ē* are used. In the sense of determination or oneness *e* is used."

SDS 326

"The form *matte* is used in the sense of after, *ettānum* is used for everywhere. *arame* is used in the sense of one, *beḷpaḷa* for young."

SDS 327

"*sale* is used for always, *huṃ* for interrogation and *alte* for suspicion"

SDS 328

"*am* and *um* are additives. The forms *e*, *ē*, *o*, *ō* express doubt, question and objection."

SDS 329

"The forms *summane*, *summage*, *baḍide*, *allavaḥ* are used for 'no reason'. For the word *antaḥim* the non-*e* forms of the instrumental viz., *im*, *indam*, *inde* occur."

SDS 330

"The forms *baḷike*, *baḷikkam*, *baḷikam* *baḷikke*. *baḷiyam* give the sense of 'after'; *mēṇ* is used to indicate 'alternative'."

SDS 331

"*pavvane* indicates accident and fear; *antu*, *intu* suggest completion of the pada, *chiḥ*, *issi* are used for contempt."

SDS 332

"The forms *antire*, *ante*, *antevōl* are used in the sense of analogy; and *gaḷa*, *gaḍa* are used for formal information and proper conversation."

SDS 333

"*balle*, *baḷi* are used for 'once more', *andu*, *indu*, *undu*, *endu* indicate time"

SDS 334

"The forms *antu*, *intu*, *untu*, *entu* give the meaning "this way" etc. The indeclinables to be mentioned next will indicate time and are used with the dative and genitive"

SDS 335

"*āgaḷ*, *īgaḷ*, *āgaḍu* *īgaḍu* indicate time; *savaḷade*, *poḷṭade*, *īvaḷṭade* indicate 'dawn';"

SDS 336

"*nāḍidu*, *nāḷe* indicate future, and *ninne*, *monne* indicate past; *īvaḥ* and *moneyēḍu* are used for near past respectively."

SDS 337

At the outset, it is obvious that Kēśirāja's treatment of indeclinables does not contain much in the way of theory. It just contains a list of indeclinables, of course with their meaning. In the following section some attempt at systematisation will be made.

The definition of the noun given in the previous sections was: 'The form which takes or is capable of taking case suffixes is noun.' According to this definition, *marā*, *giḍa* etc., are, of course, nouns. But forms like *andu* (*andina*, *andininda* etc.); *mēgu* (*mēgina*, etc.), *mēle* (*mēlina* etc.), are also nouns. Kēśirāja himself has included forms like *andu* etc.,¹⁰² in the section on nouns, saying that these forms take all the seven case suffixes. The same forms, viz., *andu*, *indu*, *undu*, are also included among indeclinables.¹⁰³ According to him, the forms *āgaḷ*, *īgaḷ*, *āgaḍu*, *īgaḍu*, *savaḷṭade*, *poḷṭade*, *nāḍidu*, *nāḷe*, *ninne*, *monne*, *moneyēḍu* which indicate time, take the dative and genitive case suffix.¹⁰⁴ It can be added to his statement that these forms take all the case suffixes. Hence, all forms included in the list of *avyayas* by Kēśirāja may have to be included among nouns. Some scholars¹⁰⁵ go to the extent of not recognising this class. The reason why Kēśirāja has included these forms indicating time appears to be that they have been included among *avyayas* in Sanskrit. It would have been more appropriate if he had said that some nouns like *andu*, *indu* are also used as adverbs.

Kēśirāja has established the form *illa* as a separate entity and called it a verbal indeclinable. This is a negative form of the root *il*. Then other forms like *an*, *in*, *mun*, *pin*, occurring in the words *aṅgay*,

aṅgāl, incara, muṅgāl, muṅgay, piṅgāl, pimbeḍe etc.¹⁰⁶ are also indeclinables. These are indeclinable forms indicating place.

All indeclinables may be classified into four broad classes:

Interjections (bhāvasūcakāvyaya)

Adverbs (kriyāviśeṣaṇāvyaya)

Conjunctions (samuccayakāvyaya)

Post-positions (anusargāvyaya)

Interjections :

To express a certain feeling we use certain sounds. To express feelings like joy, sorrow, contempt and so on, we use separate words. Such forms are indeclinables.

Examples:

Calling :	a, ā, e, ē, ela, elā, elay, elo, elau, elele
Emphasis :	e, ē.
Interrogation and doubt :	ā, e, ē, ēṇ, o, ō
Feelings :	aḥ, akaṭa, akkaṭā, ayyo,ahaha, ahā, uḥ, ūh, ohō, hā, hohō, chiḥ, issi, thu, che, etc.

Even particles (nipātas) expressing the above feelings are included in this class.

Adverbs :

Verbal indeclinables indicate the manner, place, time or number of the action that took place. Among indeclinables, adverbs and imitative words are in majority. To achieve such forms, the adverbial suffixes -ane, -age etc., are added.

Examples :

Imitative :	giṛṛane-giṛṛage, bhōṅkane, bhōrane, summane-summage, neṭṭage
Adjectival :	kammane-kammage, nuṇṇane-nuṇṇage, mellane-mellage

The forms described by Kēśirāja as analogical forms are also included in this class. For example, antu, intu, entu. Similarly, ante, antevōl, vōl.

Conjunctions :

These are the linkages responsible for joining two words or sentences. In sūtra 133, some conjunctions like aṁ, uṁ, etc. are given. Kēśirāja has given matte, which gives the meaning of again, mēṇ, used in the sense of optional; mattam also is one such conjunction.

Post-positions :

Some indeclinables coming after verbal themes and nouns give a different meaning. Such forms are called post-positions. Forms like anegam, inegam, annegam, annam, inam, aloḍam, e with bindu (in sati saptami), vēgam, varegam, oḍam, oḍane etc., are examples of post-positions. The reason why they are called post-positions is that they are not suffixes, but independent words. Kēśirāja includes ante, antire, antevōl etc., among independent words, but does not do so with regard to forms like annam, inam. The reason for this is not clear.

Finally, the term 'indeclinable' which is improperly equated with adverb, is not clearly understood. Nouns taking case suffixes undergo changes owing to elision, insertion, mutation etc. Hence they are changing (vikāri) forms. Some forms do not undergo any change (avikāri). Such forms are called indeclinables; and among many classes of indeclinables, the adverb is one.

VERBAL THEMES

Kēśirāja's treatment of the verbal theme is given in the following sūtras :

"A base indicating action, and without any case suffix, is called a (verbal) root. What remains after the negative suffix is taken out, is a root. Suffixes are of six kinds."

SDS 227

The definition of verbal root is given in this sūtra. The base form which expresses action and has no suffixes is called a root. After sūtra 265, Kēśirāja says 'kriyārthodhātuḥ'. Of all grammarians, Kēśirāja has defined the term 'dhātu' satisfactorily. According to this sūtra, expressions like māḍisu etc., are excluded from being 'dhātu'. According to Kēśirāja's definition, 'pratyaya' and 'vibhakti' are the same; hence all suffixes are removed from the form to get the root. He has given the procedures for detecting this root. A negative form is to be taken; from that form the negative suffix is to be taken out.

There is one more aspect which is not stated in the sūtra. That is, after taking out the negative suffix, still there is the personal suffix. That also has to be removed. Then what remains is the root.

For example, take the form māḍidaṁ. The negative form will be māḍaṁ. If from this the third person singular suffix -aṁ is removed, the form māḍu (māḍu-aṁ - māḍaṁ) is the root. Similarly, kūḍu nōḍu, kāḍu, etc. are roots.

The only defect in this sūtra is : according to the procedure laid down by Kēśirāja, what remains after the removal of the personal termination -aṁ in māḍaṁ, is māḍ. But he says that what remains, is māḍu. Instead of stating the morphophonemic rules, he has taken them for granted.

The six suffixes mentioned in the previous sūtra, are given in the next sūtra : “-aṁ, -ar, -ay, -ir, -en and -evu, are the suffixes of the singular and plural number, and of the three persons respectively.”

SDS 228

Kēśirāja gives a list of Kannada roots after following the two sūtras : “As sanskrit roots were treated by Bhima in the same way Kannada roots were treated by Kēśava”.

SDS 264

“The Kannada roots have neither aspirated sound nor the phonemes ṇ, ñ, ś, ṣ, h and kṣa in the final position.”

SDS 265

The six suffixes which frequently come in verbal themes can be listed in the following manner :

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
IIIrd person	-aṁ	-ar
IIInd person	-ay	-ir
Ist person	-en	-evu

Examples:

IIIrd person	māḍidaṁ	māḍidar
IIInd person	māḍiday	māḍidir
Ist person	māḍiden	māḍidevu

“Verbal suffixes are found in adjectives, pronouns, numerals and Sanskrit adjectives.”

SDS 230

Examples:

<i>adjective :</i>	oḷḷidaṁ, oḷḷidar
<i>pronoun :</i>	peṇaṁ, peṇar
<i>numeral :</i>	orvaṁ, orvar
<i>Sanskrit adjective :</i>	uddhataṁ, uddhatar
<i>non-adjective :</i>	kavikēśavanem, dauhitranem Mallikārjunasutanem

In the next sūtra, Kēśirāja speaks of different number suffixes : “The suffix -ar, which comes as a substitute for -gaḷ in masculine and feminine, is found optionally for -ir, -v of the second person, and -evu of the first person. In Sanskrit adjectives, it is compulsory. There is n before -en of the first person singular, and for -vu in -evu according to some authors there is bindu”.

SDS 231

Examples :

optional -ar :	kūridir -kūridarir, nēridarir -nēridir piriyevu - piriyaevu, orvir -orvarir
-ar compulsory in	
Skt. adjectives :	kulavridddhar
n :	piriyanen, asiyanen
optional bindu in	
- ev, -uv :	nōḍuvenu - nōḍuveṁ, pāḍuvenu-pāḍuveṁ

Here, too, Kēśirāja considers -gaḷ as the basic form, and the others as substituted forms. Though expected of a formal grammarian, it is hard to accept.

In the following sūtra, Kēśirāja gives the tense suffixes : “The augments -da, -dapa and -va indicate the three tenses viz., past, present and future. Before -da and -dapa, irrespective of number, there is -i after u-ending words. For the future -va there is no i”.

SDS 232

Examples :

-da :	paḍedaṁ, geldaṁ, iḍidaṁ
-dapa :	ettidapaṁ, ottidapaṁ
-va :	kuḍuvaṁ, uduvaṁ
insertion of -i :	tūgidaṁ, bāgidaṁ
no insertion of i :	bigivaṁ, naḍevaṁ.

"All verbs indicating past, present and future will be past tense forms while indicating negation."

SDS 233

For example, the negative form māḍam indicates māḍidam māḍidapam, māḍuvam.

"There is p for v in roots ending in r, ṛ, ḷ, n, g, s, ṣ, and in some other instances there is doubling. In -g and -s ending roots it is dropped. In -n and -ṇ ending roots, v becomes b."

SDS 243

In roots ending in r, ṛ, ḷ, n, g and s, the future tense marker v becomes p. Sometimes it is doubled. And it is dropped after -g and -s ending roots.

Examples:

-r :	kūrpam, tarpam, barpam
-ṛ :	ārpam, tōrpam
-ḷ :	agaḷpam, kiḷpam
-n :	ānpam, nōmpam
-g :	pōpam, tāpam, tūpam
-s :	taripam, baripam, besapam
-ṣ :	ōpam
doubling :	toḷappam, udayippam, belappam
b after n :	enbam, nambam
b after ṇ :	uṇbam, kāṇbam, māṇbam

"The -p in -dapa is optionally doubled. After the root nō-, if there is -da or -dapa there is -n, and the length in nō is short."

SDS 244

Examples:

optional doubling :	baredapam - baredappam
	karedapam - karedappam
nō :	nondam, nondapam
bē :	bendam, bendapam

"For past action, there is -i and -u. For present action, there is -utum, -uttum, -ute, -utte."

SDS 247

Examples:

past tense -i :	nacci bandam, mecci pogaḷdam
past tense -u :	kusidu naḍedam, nenedu pēḷdam

present tense - utu :	nagutum, pugutum
present tense - uttu :	kūḍuttum, jaḍiyuttum
present tense - utte :	kettutte, parasutte
present tense - ute :	mirugute, enute

The forms -utu, -uttu and -ute, -utte do not have any definite environment of their own. Hence, they are in free variation.

"After mī, tar, bar, kol, sal, if there is -da and -dapa, there will be n for mī, r and l. In 'nil' it is optional."

SDS 248

When the past tense indicator -da and the present tense indicator -dapa are there, the previous mī, r in tar and bar, l in kol and sal are changed to n. For 'nil' it is optional.

Examples:

n :	mindam, tandam, bandam, sandam
optional in nil :	nindam - niltam

"For final -i and -u of the roots before -da and -dapa, there will be -e and -o. In negative meaning, the vowel in tar and bar is lengthened."

SDS 249

i and u, when followed by -da and -dapa, are changed to e and o. And the vowel in tar and bar is lengthened in negation.

i→e :	kiḍu-keṭṭam, isu-eccam, tiru-tettam
u→o :	ugu-okkam, pugu-pokkam, kuḍu-koṭṭam
no change :	iḍu-iṭṭam, iru-irdam, uḍu-uṭṭam, suḍu-suṭṭam.

In non negation the vowel is sometimes lengthened. For example: bāra marāḷikāgamane.

"The root-final third varṇas (of varga) before -da and -dapa become the first varṇas (of the varga). For root-final -su there is c."

SDS 250

Examples:

g→k :	ugu-okkam, pugu-pokkam, nagu-nakkam
ḍ→ṭ :	naḍu-naṭṭam, kiḍu-keṭṭam, kuḍu-koṭṭam
d→t :	mudu-muttam
su→c :	pasu-paccam, bisu-beccam, isu-eccam

Similarly, for-dapa.

"For root-final r, for the roots s̄a and ī, there will be t before -da-. The length in s̄a and ī is shortened." SDS 251

Examples :

r :	kiṛu-kettam, peṛu-pettam, giṛu-gettam
r → :	aṛu -artam (aṛutam also)
s̄a :	sattam
ī :	ittam

There are some other similar examples k̄aṇ-k̄aṇdam, mī-mindam, ēl-eḷdam, bīl-biḷdam.

"-da coming after k, c, ṭ, t and p assumes that form. If there are other varṇas, -da becomes - da or ṭa or ta." SDS 252

Examples :

-k :	ugu-dam - okkam, migu-dam - mikkam
-c :	isu-eccam, bisu-beccam, pasu-paccam
-ṭ :	toḍu-toṭṭam, koḍu-koṭṭam, biḍu-biṭṭam
-t :	peṛu-pettam, teṛu-tettam, poṛu-pottam
-ḍ :	uṇ-dam-uṇḍam, kaṇḍam, koṇḍam
-d :	pōl-pōltam, sōl-sōltam, nil-niltam

Owing to the use of 'mēṇ', it is not found in some cases e.g., pūṇdam, māṇdam, nērdam, bīḷḷdam.

Kēśirāja says 'if, after words ending in k, c, ṭ, t, p, etc.' But the words here actually end in voiced sounds, as in migu, ugu, toḍu, etc., of course with vowels. So he should have said 'words ending in g, j, ḍ, d, b.' Even then it would have been a fault. The real situation is that, in these examples, the past tense suffix is not -da. Because, when two voiced sounds -g (in migu) and -d (in dapa) come together, they cannot result in voiceless sounds. At least one of the sounds has to be voiceless for such assimilation. Hence, -t- has to be taken as the past tense suffix as the roots end in a voiced sound. About the past tense suffixes, more will be said after the summary is complete.

"The g in pōgu, āgu is dropped if -da or -dapa comes. In the past tense, y occurs and for the neuter -udu, there is -tu, and -ga are dropped." SDS 253

Examples :

dropping of g :	pōgu-da-am	pōdam
	āgu-da-am	ādam
insertion of y :	āgu-tu	āytu
	pōgu-tu	pōytu

"The l of koḷ before -da becomes ṇ. The u of the root uḷ becomes o- and -da is forbidden. The neuter plural -uvu becomes -avu." SDS 256

Examples :

koḷ :	koḷ-dam - koṇ-ḍam
uḷ :	oḷam, oḷar
neuter (uḷ) :	oḷavu

The negative of uṇṭu is il.

"Irrespective of tense, number and gender we have -gum and -kum in the third person singular." SDS 238

The suffix -gum or -kum is applied irrespective of any tense, number and gender.

Examples :

past tense :	andu māḍugum, andu māḷkum
three genders :	taḷōdari bisusuygum, Bhāvaḷayāḍhipam nuḍigum
present and future :	emagīgaḷe sūcisugum
number :	orvane gelgum, irvarum nuḍigum
-kum :	karimurivōkum, nungirkum, barkum
both :	sūcisugum-sūcikum, māḍugum-māḷkum

"If -kum comes after -isu, sometimes it is dropped from -isu. Some people double the k in -kum. It has not to be used when not pleasing to the ears." SDS 239

Examples :

elision of -su :	māṇisu-kum - māṇikum bhāvisu-kum - bhāvikum
doubling :	puruḍikkum, ranjikkum, pālikkum
harsh to ears :	ondikkum, keḍikkum

"In the imperative, for the third person singular and plural, there is -ge or -ke. The -ke is sometimes doubled. For the second and

first person plural, in simultaneous statement, there is -im and -am respectively."

SDS 240

Examples :

-ge :	avam kuḍuge, avam paḍege
-ke :	avam tarke, avar barke
plural :	avar māḷke, avar tōrke
optional doubling	
for -ke :	rakṣike -rakṣikke pūjike -pūjikke
-im :	irisim, tarisim
-am :	tāgavam, ēgayvam

"The second person singular of the root is also the imperative form. For the root ir, there is -u. The imperative is found with repeated action."

SDS 241

The nature of the imperative is given in the sūtra. The second person singular form is also the imperative form.

Examples :

nōḍu, pāḍu, kēḷ, iru
biḍubiḍu, koḷkoḷ, naḍenaḍe

"For the Kannada root in purpose, self-doing, or others-doing, there will be -isu. For Sanskrit polysyllabic roots in self-doing -isu- is used. In the sense of utility also there is isu".

SDS 242

Examples :

purpose :	mātim nagisidam, pajjeyim kāṇisidam
self-doing :	naṭṭisidam, kaṭṭisidam, beṭṭisidam
other-doing :	nuḍiyisidam, muḍiyisidam
monosyllabic root :	īyisidam, tēyisidam
Sanskrit root	
(self-doing):	khaṇḍisidam
utility : -Skt :	-citrīsīdam, mudrīsīdam
Kan :	poṅgisidam, soppisidam

"In the second person negative and imperative, there is -al. Also in the sense of utility object and causative, there is -al. When the action indicates the meaning, there is -al again."

SDS 245

The sūtra is about the use of the suffix -al.

Examples :

imperative :	usir-al-im - usiralim : saralim
non-imperative	
negative :	bageyal, pugāl
utility :	igiyal, īyal, tariyal
action :	gelal, pugāl, muttal

"If there is no negative, there is -ke after -al. Sometimes -al is dropped."

SDS 246

Examples :

-ke :	nuḍiyalke, pēḷalke, bēḍalke
dropping of -al :	uḍalvāl-uḍavāl, toḍalvāl - toḍavāl

"If the imperative -ke and kum occur after pōgu, the last syllable of pōgu is dropped. The final syllable of āgu is also dropped, and the previous vowel is shortened."

SDS 254

Examples :

pōke - pōkum, akke-akkum

"I of uḷ becomes ṇ. The second member, viz., the neuter -udu becomes -tu. In negation, for neuter -du and -uvu, there will be -adu, and -avu."

SDS 255

Examples :

uḷ-du-uṇṭu	
negation :	uḷi-adu - uḷiyadu ; miḷiyadu, paḷasadu
-avu ;	sallavu, nillavu, gellavu

After the treatment of tense suffixes, Kēśirāja treats of person in the following sūtras: "The first, second and third persons have an independent meaning. When the three are together, the first person predominates. When the second and third persons are together, the second person predominates. In a simultaneous statement the third person is never important."

SDS 234

Examples :

independent	
meaning :	ātanirdam, avarirdar
	nīm kaṇḍay, nīm kaṇḍir
	ān kēḷdem, ām kēḷdevu

difference :	nīnumātanumānum popevu ātanumānum nīnum pēḷḷevu ānum nīnumātanum besakeyvevu
predominance of	
second person:	ātanum nīnum kūḍidir. nīnumātanum kūḍidapir

"The tām, nīn, ān forms are third second and first persons respectively. The singular is referring to one and the plural to many"

SDS 235

Here, Kēśirāja gives the third, second and first person forms and also defines the terms singular and plural.

Examples :

third person :	tāneccam (sg); tāv toḍardīṇiyar
second person :	nīm muñciday
first person :	anaṅivem

"For the third person neuter, singular and plural, there is -du and -vu respectively; -udu is used also in the abstract sense."

SDS 236

The neuter gender suffixes are treated here.

Examples :

singular :	bare-da-udu - baredudu; neredudu
plural :	nimir-da-uvu- nimiruvu; amarduvu
abstract sense :	īvudu kūrpudu
in imperative:	rakṣippudennam

"For the neuter singular there are -itu, -ittu, and -attu forms. For the third person feminine singular there is -aḷ."

SDS 237

Examples :

-attu :	irdattu, pasarisidattu
-aḷ :	taḍedaḷ, paḍedaḷ

"In satisaptami which is responsible for two subjects, there is e. For that e some use -aḷ. The correct form is aloḍam"

SDS 260

Satisaptami is responsible for two subjects.

Examples :

gāyakam pāḍe devam māccidam
pātravāḍe vāḍakam bājisidam

-al :	pāḍapaḍmaṅgaḷanandottuttirāl sūdraka nripatisukhasinanāgirdanāgaḷ
aloḍam :	vasantam baraloḍam kōgileyuligum

"If there is e in the final position of the word indicating a different party, the word comes after the root irrespective of the three genders, three numbers and three persons."

SDS 261

Examples :

feminine :	nōḷpoḍe avaḷ
masculine :	nuḍivoḍe avam
neuter :	tīḍuvoḍe kammelar tīḍugum
singular :	kāduvoḍe orvane ballidam
dvivacana :	pōrisuvoḍirvarum takkar
plural :	nuḍivoḍellarum mātaṅiyar
three numbers :	porḍuvoḍe avan oḷḷidam tirduvoḍe avar oḷḷidar īvoḍe nīvoḷḷidir
past :	pusidoḍe biṭṭam
present :	paḷaṅcidapoḍe kondapam
future :	citripoḍe tūḷikeyam tarisuvam

"Inegam, udum, annam, annegam, inam, aloḍam always occur with bindu. They come as mutation (ādeśa) forms for e of satisaptami, and before e the form aloḍam also occurs."

SDS 257

Examples :

-inegam :	kāmakaram karamaḍaṅgi
-udum :	nurgaappinegam kāmadaṅgaṅge- voydaṅ
-annam :	baravāḷembudum. . . barpambujōdaram
-annegam :	uddade negevannam poyyalendavvaḷipudu
	ōleyoḍane muttungāḷoḷ nare
	barpennegamiru
-inam :	puguvinam
-aloḍam :	kurukulāḍhipam nuḍiyaloḍam
-e :	nelanedire nōṭakar kaṇṇalase manam korage
e and aloḍam	
āgama:	baraloḍane koṭṭam

"The forms annegam, annam, inegam, inam are common to the present and future. -udum and aloḍam are used in the past tense."

SDS 258

Examples :

present :	nenevanegam bandam
future :	īvannegamirdam, beḷagappinam kaḷisidam
past :	pāvase kiḷaloḍam nīr tiḷidudu

"If the words varam, varegam are second members, then annegam, innegam, ennegam drop their -ga. elsewhere, though varam and varegam are there, there is no elision. The word muṭṭe also gives the sense of boundary."

SDS 259

The words varam, varegam indicate the boundary.

Examples :

elision of -ga:	ennegam-varam-ennevaram innegam-varam-innevaram
muṭṭe :	desemuṭṭe, vārdhi muṭṭe

In the next sūtra, Kāśirāja gives the nature of the transitive verb. "If where or what are the questions demanded, it is transitive. To all roots paḍu with -al is affixed."

SDS 263

If the verb, together with the subject, expects the question where and what, it is called transitive. There, for all the roots, paḍu-al is affixed. And, as previously stated, person suffixes like -am, -ar, etc., will of course be there.

Examples :

tāniralpaṭṭam, tāmiralpaṭṭar, nīniralpaṭṭay, nīmīralpaṭṭir, ānīrlpaṭṭem, amīralpaṭṭevu

In the next sūtra, Kāśirāja takes up a stray example : "The root 'beḷe' is used for plants, and 'baḷe' in other cases. The abstract noun of beḷe is bāḷe and that of baḷe is baḷavi."

SDS 229

This needs no explanation or example.

Kāśirāja makes a general statement about meaning. "A root can convey many meanings. They should be understood in accordance with the usages of the great."

SDS 262

According to Kāśirāja, there are three tenses, viz., past, present and future, and the suffixes indicating these tenses are -da-, -dapa-, and -va- respectively. Then he says that in some cases of the past tense, i is inserted before -da-, e.g., tūgu -i- -da-am = tūgidam; bāgidam, etc. This can also be put in another way. That is, in the examples quoted above, the past tense suffix is -id. Elsewhere (sūtra 250) he says that, before -da- and -dapa-, the root final g, ḍ, d, are changed to k, ṭ, t, which is hard to explain.

The suffixes which represent the past, present and future are not -da-, -dapa-, and -va- but -d-, -dap- and -v-. The -a- in all these examples does not seem to be necessary. In the examples bare-dātam etc., it appears that -da- is the form. But it can be easily shown that this is due to the morphophonemic process of elision of one of the vowels. Hence the form of these suffixes may be established as -d-, -dap-, and -v-.

Again, the present tense indicator -dap- does not appear to be a separate suffix like -d- and -v-. It appears to be a combination of the past tense and future tense suffixes. Caldwell, in search of the origin of this suffix -dap-, accepts¹⁰⁷ the explanation given by Rev. Kittel, who regards -dap- as being properly -dapa- and -dapa- as consisting of -da-apa-. This -apa- he considers identical with -aha-, the future participle of -ahu-. The present tense suffix, which is a combination of the past and future tense suffixes, lends credence to the theory that in Kannada there are only two tenses, past and non-past (which includes present and future). Though there may be separate suffixes for present and future, really there is no distinction between them at the level of usage.

About the past tense -d-: In the light of the different explanations given by Kāśirāja, viz., insertion of the vowel i in some cases, and the voiced phoneme changing to a voiceless one in some environments, it is better to establish three forms in the past tense suffix. Otherwise, it will be difficult to explain certain forms according to the rules given by Kāśirāja. The three forms are -d-, -id-, and -t-.

The form -d- occurs in examples like paḍedam, geldam, iḍidam, etc; the form -id- is found in examples like tūgidam, bāgidam etc., and -t- occurs in naṭṭam, keṭṭam, muttam etc. It appears that the 985 roots given by Kāśirāja, may be conveniently grouped into these three classes. As he has only listed the roots and not given any classification, the same may be attempted here.

For the sake of classification, the past tense suffixes are taken as the bases. As there are three suffixes viz., -d-, -id- and -t-, the classes may be called the -d- class, the -id- class and the -t- class.

Examples :

- d- class : paḍe, gel, iḍi, ī, ṣ, nō, bāy
- id- class : tūgu, bāgu, taḷku, tiṇuku
- t- class : naḍu, kiḍu, kuḍu, ugu, pogu, mudu

The usual structure of the Kannada verb is root and tense suffix plus personal ending. The above classes may be explained in the following manner :

paḍe-d-am — paḍedam
gel-d-ay — gelday
bāy-d-en — benden

tūgu-id-ar — tūgidar
bāgu-id-ir — bāgidir
taḷku-id-evu — taḷkidevu

naḍu-t-am — naḍ-t-am — naṭ-t-am — naṭṭam
(due to assimilation)
kiḍu-t-am — keḍu (sūtra 249) -ṭ-am — keṭṭam
kuḍu-t-am — koṭṭam

In the light of the above, sūtra 250 appears to be faulty. The sūtra states that the root-final third varṇas of the varga before -da- and -dapa- become the first varṇas. Two voiced sounds coming together, and both assimilating to the voiceless sounds is something impossible.

About the inserted i in the past tense, there is considerable discussion. Caldwell says that it is a suffix indicating past tense. It cannot be explained as due to euphonic combination.¹⁰⁸ R. Narasimhachar also supports Caldwell's view. He says¹⁰⁹ : 'Another temporal particle used for forming the past tense in all three languages is i, which is followed by -d- in Kannada. It is the continuation of the Proto-Dravidian suffix i'.

The future tense suffix is -v-, according to Kēśirāja. And this assumes the form of -b-, -p-, and -pp-.¹¹⁰

Examples :

- v- : kəḷvem, pəḷvam
- b- : eṇbam, tiṇbam, kāṇbam
- p- : barpam, tarpam, kūrpam
- pp- : toḷappam, beḷappam

According to A. N. Narasimhaiah,¹¹¹ the earliest future tense suffix is -pp-, from this, -p- and -v- are developed later on. According to Caldwell, -v- is the original form.¹¹²

There are suffixes -gum and -kum. The peculiarity about these suffixes is that they stand for all the three tenses, genders, numbers and persons.

Examples :

- andumāḍugum (past)
- nāḷe māḍugum (future)
- indu māḍugum (present)
- taḷḍdari bisusuygum (feminine)
- bhūvaḷayāḍipam nuḍigum (masculine)
- irvarum nuḍigum (plural)

That is, in -kum and -gum there is neutralisation of the tense, person, gender and number distinctions. Then there is suffix -ke (-kke) or -ge. This comes in the imperative, in place of the third person terminations.

Examples:

- avam kuḍuge, avam paḍege (-ge- singular)
- avam tarke, avar barke (-ke- singular)
- avar māḷke, avar torke (-ke- plural)
- avar pūjike - pūjikke (-kke- optional)

The forms -kke, -ke and -ge may be treated as the variants of one form. It appears that -ke occurs after roots ending in r, ḷ; and -ge elsewhere. -kke is in free variation with -ke. Hence all the three forms may be considered as sub-members of one morpheme. Further there is treatment of personal terminations. They are, in all, six, differing for gender and person.

They are :

	Singular	Plural
first person	en	evu

second person	ay	ir
third person	am	ar
	aḷ (feminine)	
	udu (neuter)	uvu (neuter)

Kaṣīrāja also states that for the third person singular, -am and the forms -itu, -ittu and -attu are optional substitutes in the neuter. For example, muttitu, meṭṭitu, oḍittu, allaḍittu, irdattu. A point which Kaṣīrāja did not state regarding these forms is that they are used only in the past tense.

A third point Kaṣīrāja has dealt with is 'satīsaptami'. He has done it in five sūtras: Satīsaptami is mainly a concept in Sanskrit grammar. Hence, before treating of satīsaptami in Kannada, one should have a clear idea about satīsaptami in Sanskrit. 'An action which indicates another action is called satīsaptami.'¹¹³ Examples of satīsaptami are: 'gōṣu duhyamāṇasu rāmō gataḥ', 'tasmin gatē kim vrittam', 'astu tiṣṭhatsu santaḥ taranti' etc. Here, the verbal forms duhyamāṇasu, gatē, tiṣṭhatsu are in the adjective slot and, assuming the form of locative, give the same form to the nouns which are their substantives. In these examples, one action is subordinate to another. Here, 'gataḥ, vrittam and taranti' are the main actions, and the rest are subordinates. The subordinate verbs do not give the complete meaning.

In Kannada, the idea of satīsaptami is different. There are two subjects and two verbs. One verb is subordinate to the other. And unlike Sanskrit, the subjects are not in the locative. Instead, it is the verb that gives the locative sense. In Sanskrit, the verbal forms of a subordinate action are kāraka-krit forms (e.g. duhyamāṇasu etc.), whereas in Kannada they are indeclinable verbal forms (e.g. pāḍe). An example of satīsaptami in Kannada is 'gāyakam pāḍe dēvam meccidam'. Here, gāyakam and dēvam are two subjects; pāḍe is the subordinate verb. And this verb pāḍe indicates another verb, 'meccidam'. The meaning of 'pāḍe' is 'pāḍal'. But Kaṣīrāja has prohibited the use of -al here. The term 'pāḍe' gives the sense of locative, and the suffix that gives this sense is -e. Some people do not agree to -e being saptami: when it gives the sense of -al, how can it be locative? Hence, it is not a locative suffix; and so there is no satīsaptami in Kannada.

Kaṣīrāja prohibiting the use of -al in this environment, specifies the use of -aloḍam, e.g., vasantam baraloḍam kōgileyuligum. This form -e is used irrespective of gender, number and person.

Examples:

nōlpoḍe avaḷ (fem.)
 nuḍivoḍe avam (masc.)
 tiḍuvoḍe kammelar (neut.)
 kāḍuvoḍe orvane ballidam (sg.)
 nuḍivoḍe ellarum (pl.)

Kaṣīrāja gives other forms also to be used in that situation viz., -inegam, -udum, -annam, -annegam, -inam, -aloḍam. They always come with a bindu. All the above forms occur as mutation forms for e. Of these, -anegam, -annegam, -annam, -innegam and -inam are used both for the present and the future tense; and the forms -udum and -aloḍam are used in the past tense.

Examples :

nenevannegam bandam (present)
 īvannegam irdam (future)
 pāvase kiḍaloḍam nīr tiḷidudu (past)

The total impression of the treatment of verbal themes by Kaṣīrāja is his indebtedness to the Sanskrit system. Whether they are apt or not, he has imposed the Sanskrit structure on Kannada.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 Hockett, C. F., CML, p. 123.
- 2 Nida, Eugene, *Morphology*, p. 81.
- 3 Pratyeti paścyādāgacchati iti Pratyayaḥ Paraḥ – T.P. 5. 7. See Abhyankar, K.U.P. 246.
- 4 Pratyāyate arthaḥ iti pratyayaḥ, *ibid.*
- 5 Nida, Eugene, *Morphology*, p. 82.
- 6 *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa*, II. 1.1.
- 7 *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, I. II. 45.
- 8 The term prātipadika is Paṇiniyan and the term 'linga' is found in *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa*. See Chakravarthi, P.C., *Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 171.
- 9 Arthavallīgam, SS, Sutra, 8.
- 10 SS, Vritti on Sutra, 1.
- 11 Caldwell, CGD, p. 196. – whatever be the length and complication of Dravidian words, they may invariably be traced to monosyllabic roots.
- 12 SDS 85, illustration.
- 13 *Kannada Kaypidi*, p. 333.
- 14 Gai, G. S., HGOK, p. 21.
- 15 Caldwell, CGD, p. 220.
- 16 Telugu distinguished between mahat and amahat, mahat being only masculine (Author.).
- 17 This type of situation is found in Telugu, see Caldwell, CGD, p. 220.
- 18 Gai, G. S., HGOK, p. 25.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 28. – In the words goravarkaḥ and vēdavidarkaḥ, as it is the second suffix, it cannot be taken as environment.
- 20 This suffix is neither enumerated among the plural suffixes in the studies about inscription, nor any example is found there of. See Gai, G. S., HGOK, G. 24., and Narasimhaiah, A. N., GOKI, p. 114.
- 21 – a in –ar also has third person meaning.
- 22 –i in –ir, –dir also has second person meaning.
- 23 Kittel, F., A Grammar of the Kannada Language, pp. 64, 184, 223, 224 & 370.
- 24 Narasimhaiah, A. N., GOKI, p. 1.
- 25 *Gadayudha*, Ch. 6 verse 27. see Kulkarni, P. G., KBC, p. 365.
- 26 Narasimhaiah, A.N., GOKI, p. 117.
- 27 Gai, G. S., HGOK, p. 29.
- 28 Narasimhaiah, A. N., GOKI, p. 117.
- 29 *Kannada Kaypidi*, Pt. I, p. 336.
- 30 Caldwell, CGD, p. 255.
- 31 Gai, G. S., HGOK, p. 42.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- 33 *Ibid.*
- 34 SDS 128.
- 35 SDS 146.
- 36 Gai, G. S., HGOK, p. 46.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- 38 Narasimhaiah, A. N., GOKI, p. 139.
- 39 *Kannada Kaypidi*, Pt. I. p. 341.
- 40 The suffix –ṅe is found, though rarely, after –n ending words. Ex. kūṅge laḍḍugeyaḷti.
- 41 Nayak, H. M. (ed.), *Kannada Studies*, –4 The case system in Kannada.
- 42 Narasimhaiah, A.N., GOKI, p. 161. and Gai, G.S., HGOK, p. 54. Under the heading 'The Ablative Case' says 'There is no ablative case in Kannada'. However he gives example *Purigere –y-im*, where the instrumental case is used for the ablative of motion.
- 43 Seetaramayya, V. (ed) *Kavirāja Mārga*, 1–115.
- 44 *Kannada Kaypidi*, Pt. I, p. 335.
- 45 Caldwell, CGD, p. 283.
- 46 Gai, G. S., HGOK, p. 62.
- 47 Caldwell, CGD, p. 306.
- 48 Kulkarni, P. G., KBC, p. 364.
- 49 SDS 145. – *Pratyayadim pūrvadoḷirkum prakṛiti*.
- 50 Caldwell, CGD, p. 253.
- 51 Gleason, H. A., IDL, p. 60.

- 52 a. Kāraka is a semantic unit subsuming different shades of meaning relations which are expressed by Vibhakti in actual sentences of language, *IL*, 31-1, 2. p. 18. b. *Kriyām karoti kārakam*. c. *Kriyānvayitvam kārakatvam*.
- 53 Chakravarti, P. C., *PSG*, p. 219. – *Sambandhasya kriyānimittatvepi śaṣṣu kāraka śabdasya rūḍhatvāt na kārakatvamiti samkṣepaḥ* – *Kalāpa vyākaraṇa*.
- 54 *SDS* 45.
- 55 *Aṣṭādhāyī*, 1.3.78.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 2. 3. 18.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 2.3.2.
- 58 *Ibid.*, 2.3.46.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 2.3.18.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 2.3.13.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 2.3.28.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 2.3.36.
- 63 *SDS* 45
- 64 Bloch, Jules, *Grammatical Structure of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 1.
- 65 Filmore, C. J., 'The case for case' –in 'Universals of Linguistic Theory' (ed.) by Boch, Emmen & Harms, Robert.
- 66 Hockett, C. F., *CML*, p. 249.
- 67 *IL*, 31-1-2. –The kāraka theory & case grammar.
- 68 Filmore, C. J., 'The case for case'.
- 69 *SDS* 147.
- 70 *Ibid.*
- 71 Bulletin of the Deccan College P. G. Research Institute, Poona 2, pp. 209-210.
- 72 Caldwell, *CGD*, p. 308.
- 73 *Ibid.*, p. 309.
- 74 Narasimhaiah, A. N., *GOKI*, p. 164. He lists only four such adjectives as found in the inscriptions, viz., nal, per, veḷ, and ini.
- 75 Gai, G. S., *HGK*, p. 65.
- 76 Narasimhachar, R., a. *History of Kannada Language* p. 84. b. *IL*, Pronouns in *Vaḍḍārādhane*.

- 77 In the forms listed by Narasimhaiah (p. 178) and Gai (p. 69.) ivan and idu forms are found but not ivaḷ.
- 78 Similar system is found in Tamil. Telugu system differs in that it divides plural into mahat (masculine) and amahat (non-masculine). See Krishnamurthy, Bh., *Telugu Verbal Bases*.
- 79 The third person forms behave similarly (Author).
- 80 Caldwell, *CGD*, p. 400.
- 81 P. G. Kulkarni in *KBC* (p. 261) says that the genderless form –ku (connected also with Tamil dative suffix) became –ke and when joined to the demonstrative base might have attained the feminine meaning.
- 82 But in some monosyllabic words such as kay, key, may and mey, this change is not noticed.
- 83 Narasimhaiah, A. N., *GOKI*, p. 80.
- 84 *Seminar on Dravidian Linguistics II* – Personal and Reflexive Pronouns in Dravidian, Annamalai University, 1969.
- 85 Chakravarti, P. C., *PSG* p. 281.
- 86 *Ibid.*
- 87 Avyayībhāva is called 'aṁśi' by Bhaṭṭakaḷaṅka.
- 88 Kittel Dictionary, p. 528.
- 89 Ayyangar, V. Krishnaswamy, *Kannada Nudi*, 28-4.
- 90 Bhat, T. Gopalakrishna, *Kannada Nudi*, 29-8.
- 91 'Paḍevaḷḷaṅge naḍeyalvāl bāgam' *Shanti Purana* of Janna, 3-107. See 'niyogārthada vaḷḷa' (vaḷa) *Pratyayagaḷu* – *Sahitya Parisat Patrike*, 26-1.
- 92 *Ibid.*, vaḷḷa became vaḷa and then vāḷa, eg., maḍivāḷa.
- 93 Joshi, S. B., *KSP*, 26-1.
- 94 Chatarji, S. K., *Proceedings of the Oriental Conference*, Baroda, 1933, –vaḷa, pala as a suffix showing possession or connection is late and not earlier than the Apabhraṁśa stage in the history of Indo-Aryans.
- 95 *Proceedings of the Oriental Conference*, Mysore, 1935, p. 783.
- 96 Kittel Dictionary, p. 1244.
- 97 *Ibid.*, p. 540.
- 98 Kulkarni, P. G., *KBC*, p. 300.
- 99 *POC*, Mysore, p. 790.

- 100 Robins, R. H., *GL*, p. 257.
- 101 Nida, Eugene, *M*, p. 99.
- 102 *SDS* 131.
- 103 *SDS* 334.
- 104 *SDS* 336 & 337.
- 105 Caldwell, *CGD*, p. 553. The Dravidian languages have no adverbs at all. Every word that is used as an adverb in the Dravidian languages is either a noun declinable, indeclinable, verbal theme, an infinitive or the gerund of a verb.
- 106 *SDS* 177.
- 107 Caldwell, *CGD*, p. 491.
- 108 *Ibid.*, p. 499
- 109 Narasimhachar, R., *HKL*, p. 95.
- 110 *SDS* 243.
- 111 Narasimhaiah, A. N., *GOKI*, p. 205.
- 112 Caldwell, *CGD*, p. 514.
- 113 Mahasabde, M. V., (ed.) *Siddhānta Kaumudī* -Yasya kriyayā kriyāntaram lakṣyate tataḥ saptami syati, p. 68.

* * *

SYNTAX

There are about ten sūtras dealing with syntax. Further ideas relating to syntax might have occurred incidentally in some of the sūtras. Those sūtras will be made use of wherever necessary. Kāśirāja refers to syntactic linkages. "Of the linkages -am and -um, -um is used for the accusative case. For the genitive there is no linkage. The use of -am and -um in other cases has to be seen through usages."

SDS 133

The forms -am and -um are called conjunctions. The term linkage for conjunctions is from modern linguistic terminology.

Examples :

-um in accusative :	avarumam, puliyumam
other cases :	naranum, guruvum (nominative)
	avaṅgeyum, ninageyum (dative)
	drōṇaṅgam, ninagam (dative)
	caladoḷam, kalitanadoḷam (locative)
-um to -alli :	alliyum, illiyum, elliyum

The function of syntactic linkages is to join the two words in sentences.

Kāśirāja deals with the idea of collective singular here: "Collective singular stands for the plural. Hence, even though there is no collectivity, the singular is used for the plural. It behaves here as an adjective."

SDS 148

The singular, by definition, refers to one object. If one is to convey the idea of more than one, the plural suffix is to be used. But there are cases where, though the form is in the singular, the plural sense is conveyed. This is possible when a term stands for a whole class or kind (jāti). This kind of singular referring to collectivity is termed 'collective singular' (jātyekavacana).

Examples:

collectivity : āne nūṅkidavu ānegaḷ nūṅkidavu
 kudureyēḷidavu kuduregaḷēḷidavu
 kālāḷ kaviduvu kālāḷgaḷ kaviduvu

In these examples, though the verb is in the plural, the subject is in the singular. For example āne, kudure, kālāḷ. The term āne refers to the genus of elephants and all the species are included in it. Hence, it gives a plural sense; similarly, the terms kudure and kālāḷ. kālāḷ does not refer to an individual soldier, but the entire group of infantry. There are other instances where a term, though not a collective one, is used as a plural.

Examples:

ivellam adhruvam ivellam adhruvaṅgaḷ
manam sancalamāduvu manaṅgaḷ sancalamāduvu

In the first of these examples, the case is different. The plurality is indicated not only by the term ellam, but by the plural form ivu itself. Hence, the examples may not be considered apt. But in the second example, the term manam stands for plurality.

In the next sūtra, the restriction on the use of collective singular is given :

“When the kāraka, in the form of an adjective is in the singular, and the verb also is in singular, the substantive through a collective one, is used as singular.”

SDS 149

Though the term referring to the collectivity which gives the plural sense is there, if it is with kāraka acting as an adjective in the singular and the verb also is in the singular, then that collective singular term gives a singular sense.

Examples :

kāraka: intuṭāne intuṭu kudure
action: ulidudu kōgile pāḍidudu tumbi

If in place of the singular forms adu and idu, there are a and i mutation forms, then such collective term optionally gives a plural sense.

Examples :

āyeraḷe pōduvu, ī pulle banduvu

“The singular in numeral objects, numbers, nature etc., stands for the plural. The qualifier can be in the plural and the qualified in the singular.”

SDS 150

Some more light is thrown on the use of the collective singular in this sūtra. The singular in numeral objects, numerals, and nature are to be taken as plural. And though the adjective is in the plural, the substantive may be in the singular.

Examples:

numeral objects: pattu deṣe pattu deṣegaḷ
numerals : ondu nālku ondu nālkuḷgaḷ
nature : kaṅgaḷ kūṛpu kaṅgaḷ kūṛpuḷgaḷ
singular substantive : nēriduvu beral tōriduvu jaghanam

The idea of concordance between the qualifier and the substantive is expressed in the following sūtra : “The qualifier at the beginning of a sentence, though in the nominative gets the suffix of the last word.”

SDS 151

The qualifiers at the beginning of a sentence though in the nominative get the case of the kāraka word, though at the other end.

Examples :

vīranudāram śuci gambhīram nayaśāli
kayduvottara dēvaṅgāgeragar nripaṭuṅgaṅge

This has to be construed as :

vīraṅge udāraṅge śucige gambhīraṅge nayaśālige kaydu-
vottaradēvaṅge nripatuṅgaṅge āraṅgar.

Though all the qualifiers of Nripatunga are in the nominative, yet, because the qualified is in the dative, all of them get the same suffix. That is, there is concordance between the qualifier and the qualified with regard to case.

In the next sūtra, Kāśirāja speaks of gender, in such a phrase. "In a simultaneous statement, there is no predominance of any gender. The gender in the final position is important."

SDS 152

Examples :

sāneyumarasiyumarasānum bandar
āneyumarasanumarasiyum bandar
arasānumarasiyum caturangabalamum banduvu

The number of the nominative forms is given here. "Many nominative singular words lead to the plural."

SDS 153

Though many nominative singular forms are there, yet the verb is in the plural.

Examples :

avatāṃsōtpalatāḍanam
kanaka kāncibandham . . .
cakrigittuvalampam

Individually taken, because of the nominative singular forms, the verb should have been 'cakrigittudalampam', but, because such forms are many, together they give the sense of plural.

In this sūtra, the use of avan, avaḥ, etc., is given : "avam, avaḥ and adu are independent ; avan, avaḥ, āvudu, tān etc., as they expect avan, avaḥ, adu etc., are dependent."

SDS 154

Examples :

independent meaning : poṇṇuḥḥavane kulīnam means avan
poṇṇuḥḥavam, avane kulīnam

sobaguḥḥavaḥc peṇ-means-avaḥ

sobaguḥḥavaḥ, avaḥ peṇ

dependent meaning :

avanadhikapuṇyam avane sāvyam avaḥ
pativrate avaḥc mānye

In the next sūtra, the treatment of pair giving plural sense is given : "In the sense of a pair, the plural is singular. In the verbal adjective, too, it is singular."

SDS 155

The base which is used to indicate the sense of pair is in the singular. Similarly, the adverb also is in the singular.

Examples :

pair : padayugam means padayugalaṅgaḥ

base : vedaṅgaḥ pramāṇam

adverb : ānema pempō, entahavargaḥemba permeyō

"There is a juxtaposition between kāraka and action. If it is not, then there is a fault called 'nēya'. The -e of doubt, and -um of linkage also are juxtaposed."

SDS 156

The juxtaposition between kāraka and action should be such that it may not lead to the fault called nēya. Juxtaposition is possible between -e (expressing doubt) and -um (expressing linkage). Juxtaposition can take place between the kāraka and the verb, and between the -e of doubt and -um of linkage. Juxtaposition other than this leads to a fault called nēya.

Examples :

āraktamāgi nēḡiladōreyananukaripudādudāgasamene

To understand this, one has to have another phrase from outside, viz., 'sandhyāruciyaḥ'. If this is the case, it is a nēya fault.

for correct juxtaposition :

kāraka : ēke nirvahaṇakke salgumo pūṇḍōḍam
kritibandhamam. Here the term 'kritibandha'
is to be juxtaposed.
'karṇanum dāni meṇṇitanum'. This example
should be understood as 'karṇanum dāni
mēṇ ṇitanum dāni'

action : 'puruṣōttamam manuṣyamātrame'

The answer is 'allam'

-e of doubt : In 'uṣemanjeme berceme . . . dēva' -e in uṣem
is to be understood as uṣeme.

-um of linkage : āyum siritāyum . . . kṣitīṣam. Here the last
one should be understood as 'kṣitīṣanum'.

Similarly, all the cases can be understood according to the
circumstances.

7

APABHRAMSA (BORROWING)

In this chapter Kāṣirāja deals with Sanskrit and Prakrita words which are found in Kannada language. This was necessary because large number of words from these languages were used in Kannada and some of these were used in original shape, some in slightly modified form and many with much modification. When the word borrowed from Sanskrit or Prakrit is modified, it is according to the structural necessity of the Kannada language. Hence there was a pattern when these words were adapted to Kannada. In this chapter Kāṣirāja tries to give the list of words used in Kannada and their original form. With the following sūtra he starts this chapter.

"The learned should consider the Apabhraṃśa (Tadbhava words) formed according to the principles of grammar without violating usage."

SDS 266

In the next sūtra, Kāṣirāja deals with changes of consonants in general. "I shall deal with the characteristics of the changes that Sanskrit words undergo when used as tadbhavas in Kannada. The śa and ṣa of Sanskrit words always change into sa in the derived words."

SDS 267

Examples :

śa > sa :

śaśi - sasi

śaram - saram

kaḷaṣam - kaḷasam

śāle - sale

ṣa > sa :

harṣam - harusam
 bhāṣe - bāse
 viṣam - visam
 dōṣam - dōsam
 nimiṣam - nimisam

“When a double-consonant is disjoined, its first letter receives either a, i or u, and a long vowel preceded by a or i, is then shortened.”

SDS 268

When the original cluster is to be broken for the use in Kannada, a, i or u, is inserted.

Examples :

a :

yatnam - jatanam
 indram - indaram
 krakacam - karagasam

i :

śrī - siri
 varṣam - barisam

u :

lakṣmī - lakumi
 harṣam - harusam
 darṣanam - darusanam
 śabdam - sabudam
 bhakti - bakuti

Shortening of a long vowel preceded by a :

prāyam - harayam
 prāṇam - haraṇam
 trāṇam - taraṇam

Shortening of a long vowel preceded by i :

vyādham - biyadam
 vyāḷam - biyaḷam

“The initial letter of each class excepting the pa class (ka, ca, ṭa, ta) becomes the third letter of the respective class (ga, ja, ḍa, da).”

The second letter of each class (kha, cha, ṭha, tha, pha) becomes the initial letter of the class (ka, ca, ṭa, ta, pa). The fourth letter (gha, jha, ḍha, dha, bha) becomes the third letter of the class (ga, ja, ḍa, da, ba)”

SDS 269

Examples :

ka > ga

vāsuki - vāsugi
 ākara - āgara
 ākāśa - āgasa
 pēṭike - peṭṭige
 dīpīke - dīvige

ca > ja

sūci - sūji
 kācu > gāju

ṭa > ḍa

kōṭi - kōḍi
 kaṭakam - kaḍagam
 aṭavi - aḍavi
 taṭam - taḍam

ta > da

vasati - basadi
 bhūti - būdi
 caturam - caduram
 tātam - tande

kha > ka

khaṇḍam - kaṇḍam
 śaṅkham - saṅkam
 kharam - karam
 khūram - kūram
 mukham - mukam

cha > ca

chandam - candam
 chinnam - cinnam
 chavi - cavi

ṭha > ṭa

śunṭhi - suṇṭi

maṭham - maṭam

śaṭhe - saṭe

vaṇṭham - baṇṭam

tha > ta

kathe - kate

kanthā - kante

patham - patam

grantham - grantam

pha > pa

phaḷam - paḷam

phalakam - palage

kapham - kapam

gha > ga

ghaṇṭā - gaṇṭe

nighaṇṭu - nigaṇṭu

sangham - sangam

ghoṣaṇā - gōsane

ghūkam - gūge

jha > ja

jhagaṭā - jagaḷe

jhaṭiti - jaḍiti

jhaṅka - jaṅke

ḍha > ḍa

ḍhakke - ḍakke

rūḍhi - rūḍi

gāḍham - gāḍam

dha > da

dhanam - danam

dhūpam - dūpam

nidhi - nidi

nidhānam - nidānam

dhūli - dūli

bha > ba

śubham - subam

kumbham - kumbam

rambhā - rambe

bhāri - bēri

bhāvi - bāvi

“Also kha becomes ga, ccha and chya become cca; cha sometimes changes to sa.”

SDS 270

Some individual changes are noted here :

Examples :

kha > ga

mukham - mogam

vaiśākham - bēsage

ccha > cca

icchā - icce

cikicche - cikicce

chya > cca

machyam - maccam

tuchyam - tuccam

achyam - accam

cha > sa

chūrīkā - surige

chatrikā - sattige

Again some individual changes are noted in the following sūtra
“ṭha becomes ḍa and ḷa. stha becomes ta, tha becomes da, ṭa and ha.”

SDS 271

Examples :

ṭha < ḍa

kuṭhāra - koḍali

maṭham - maḍam

ṭha > ḷ

maṭhike - maḷige

pṭhike - pḷige

stha > *ta*

sthūlam - tūlam
sthānam - tāṇam
saṁsthe - sante

tha > *da*

vīthi - bīdi

tha > *ṭa*

granthi - gaṇṭu

tha > *ha*

gāthā - gāhe

"pa becomes va and ha in certain places. ba becomes va in some places, and sometimes va becomes ba."

SDS 272

Examples:

pa > *va*

vāpi - bāvi
dīpīke - dīvige
kapile - kavile
tripadi - tivadi

pa > *ha*

pippali - hippali
pādukam - hāvuge
pañjaram - hañjaram
pāśam - hāsam

ba > *va*

kabalam - kavaḷam
śibike - sivige
śabam - savam

va > *ba*

vidhi - bidhi
vēgam - bēgam
vasantam - basantam
vīṇe - bīṇe
valli - baḷli

"ya sometimes becomes ga and na, and ya often becomes ja. dya becomes jja."

Examples:

SDS 273

ya > *ga*

dvitiye - bidige
tritiye - tadige
carye - carige

ya > *na*

yuga - noga

ya > *ja*

yave - jave
yaśam - jaśam
yōgi - jōgi
yantram - jantram
yātre - jātre

Changes in some individual words are considered in the following sūtra; "dya in the words dyūta, vindhya, vandhya, sandhyā and dhyāna becomes ja."

Examples:

SDS 274

dyūta - jūdu
vindhyam - biñjam
vandhye - bañje
sandhyā - sañje
dhyānam - jānam

Changes in respect of r are given in the following sūtra: "r after a double consonant and single consonant is elided. When single consonant, it also takes the form of that consonant."

SDS 275

Examples:

Elision of r after a double consonant:

orbaram - obbaram
purggi - puggi
surggi - suggi
arggham - aggam
ṣarkkare - sakkare

Elision of r after a single consonant :

drōṇi – dōṇi
praṇite – paṇite
śravaṇam – savaṇam
tantri – tanti
śrēṇi – sēṇi

Assimilation of r :

vētram – bettam
sūtrike – suttige
nidre – nidde
vyāghram – baggam

“Kṣa becomes either kka, cca, kkha or sa; kṣa in few words also becomes ka.”

SDS 276

Examples :

kṣa > kka

rakṣe – rakke
pakṣam – pakkam
akṣaram – akkaram
bhikṣe – bikke

kṣa > cca

akṣi – acci
bhikṣu – biccu
akṣam – accu

kṣa > kkha

prakṣālam – pakkhālam

kṣṇa > kka

tīkṣṇam – tikkam

kṣa > sa

kṣēpaṇam – kēvaṇam
kṣāram – kāram
kṣīram – kīram
dīkṣe – dīke

“ma becomes va. ca becomes sa or da. śa, ṣa, ta become ca. ha becomes either ya, ga or na.”

SDS 277

Examples :

ma > va

yamaḷam – javaḷam
grāmam – gāvam
bhūmi – būvi
śramam – savam
amari – avari

ca > sa

carmakāram – sammagāṇam
cūrṇam – supṇam
cēlam – sele

ca > da

uccam – uddam

sa > ca

silpikam – cippigam
śaṣkuli – cakkuli

ṣa > ca

ṣaṣṭhi – caṭṭi

sa > ca

haṃse – añce
assarasi – accarasi

ta > ca

nartaki – naccapi
vatsaḷe – baccaḷe
nityam – niccām

ha > ya

kuhakam – koyakam

ha > ga

simham – singam

ha > ṇa

sannāham – sannāṇam

“kta, sta, pta become tta; hma become mma; hna becomes nna”

SDS 278

Examples :

kta > tta

śukti – suttī

yukti – jutti, juguti, jukuti

sta > tta

vistāram – bittaram

kastūri – katturi

pustakam – hottage

pta > tta

saptami – sattavi

guṭtam – guttam

hma > mma

brahmam – bommam

hna > nna

cihna – cinna

“śma becomes mma; śka becomes kka; tpa becomes ppa, tpha becomes ppha; tna becomes nna; rṇa becomes nna and nma becomes mma.”

SDS 279

Examples :

śma > mma

ūṣme – umme

śka > kka

puṣkaraṇe – hokkaraṇe

maṣkari – makkari

tpa > ppa

utpaṭam – uppaṭam

tpha > pphh

satphalam – sapphaḷam

tna > nna

ratnam – rannam

rṇa > nna

jīrṇam – jinnam, jīnnam

karṇāṭakam – kannaṭam

nma > mma

unmattam – ummatam

“jva changes to jja; lva to lla, tva to tta, dva to dda, nya to nna, lya to lla, tya to tta, vya to bba, pya to ppa and gna to gga.”

SDS 280

Examples :

jva > jja

ujvalam – ujjaḷam

prajvalam – pajjaḷam

lva > lla

bilvapatram – bellavattam

tva > tta

satvakam – sattugam

nya > nna

anyāyam – anneyam

kanyake – kannike

lya > lla

palyeyanam – hallaṇam

tya > tta

mrityu – mittu

vya > bba

kāvyam – kabbam

pya > ppa

lēpyam – leppam

gna > gga

agni – aggi

lagnikam – laggikam, laggigam

‘da becomes va, ra, ja, ya, ta, ḍa – The first syllable of a word is, lengthened occasionally.”

SDS 281

Examples :

da > va

pādukam – hāvuge

da > ra

kadambam – karambam

da > ja

gade – gaje

dantam – jantam

da > ya

padam – payam

madanam – mayaṇam

da > ta

dardu – tardu

da > ḍa

vicchandam – biccaṇḍam

First syllable lengthened :

gahaṇam – gānam

navami – nāmi

daṁṣṭram – dāḍe

dvipaṭṭike – dūvaṭṭige

CHANGES IN INITIAL POSITION :

“The initial ṛ in words becomes ri, i, a and u; in the middle ṛ becomes a and ar; the words brahma and amrita get rēpha finally”

SDS 282

Examples :

ṛ > ri. i

ṛtu – ritu

ṛṣi – risi

ṛṇam – riṇam

mṛgam – migam

vṛtti – vittī

mṛtam – mitam

ṛ > a

vṛṣabham – basavam

śṛṅkhalam – saṅkale

prākṛitam – pāḍadam

amṛtam – amardu

ṛ > u

mṛdvīke – muddige

“a occurring initially becomes u, i or ha. After the first syllable jña becomes nna or na.”

SDS 283

Examples:

a > u

anguṣṭam – unguṣṭam

tvaritam – turitam

a > i

angāram – ingālam

a > ha

agni – haggi

jña > nna

vijñānam – binnanam

samjñe – sanne

jña > ṇa

ājñe – āṇe

“The vowels u, ū, au and a of the initial syllables become o or ɔ. The first syllable when long, becomes short.”

SDS 284

Examples:

u > o

kuntam – kontam
kuṇḍam – koṇḍam
sudhe – sode
sukham – sogam

u > ō

kukkuṭam – kōḷi
kuruṇṭam – gōraṭe

ū > ō

mūḍham – mōḍam
kūṭam – kōḍu

au > o

saurāṣṭram – soraṭam
krauñcam – koñce

au > ō

kaupīnam – kōvaṇam

a > o

svarṇam – sonne

a > ō

mayūram – mōram

Long vowel becoming short:

kāryam – kajjam
vyāghram – baggam
kānci – kanci
tātam – tande

“The vowels i, a, ai of the initial syllables become e or ē. The initial ha is dropped, but its vowel is retained.”

SDS 285

Examples:

i > e

iḷe – eḷe
divasam – devasam

diśa – dese

vināyakam – benakam

i > ē

niyamam – nēmam

a > e

jaṭe – jeḍe
śayyā – sejje

a > ē

vyavahāram – behāram

ai > e

vaidyam – bejjam
tailikam – telligam

ai > ē

vaiśākham – bēsaḡe
vairam – bēram

Exceptions

for i

niśā – nisi
viṣam – bisam
nimisam – nimisam

for a

ankuśam – ankusam
kaṇṭhikā – kaṇṭige

for ai

bhairavam – bairavam
śaivism – saivam

Elision of ha:

haṁse – aṁce
hingu – ingu

“The consonant s of the first syllable of the above words and ś of the word śmaśāna get elided in the tadbhava forms.”

SDS 286

Examples:

Elision of s:

sparśam – parusam
sphoṭakam – hoḷige
smaśānam – masaṇam

CHANGES IN THE MEDIAL POSITION :

“In the middle of a word a long vowel is shortened; ō becomes u;
u becomes i or a ; and a becomes i.”

SDS 287

Examples :

Shortening of a long vowel:

dukūlam – dugulam
ākāśam – āgasam
tāmbūlam – tambulam
vilāsam – vilasam
kūrpāsam – kuppasam

ō > u

aśōkam – asuge
udyōgam – ujjugam

u > i

āyuṣyam – āyisam

u > a

kurunṭam – gōraṭe
mānuṣyam – mānasam

a > i

kanyakā – kannike

“In the middle of the words the vowel ē and ī become a; a
becomes u; ā becomes mostly e.”

SDS 288

Examples :

ē > a

alākham – aḷakam

ī > a

kaupīnam – kōvaṇam
mārīcam – meḷasu

a > u

satvakam – sattugam

ā > e

anyāyam – anneyam

“The medial syllable in words gets sometimes elided. The initial
ba become bhai, the initial a and ā become ai.”

SDS 289

Examples:

Elision of medial syllables:

navami – nāmi
sāhasam – sāsam
mayūram – mōram
niyamam – nēmam

ba > bhai

bahitram – bhaitram

a > ai

mahime – maime
mahīṣi – maisi

ā > ai

vāhyaḷi – vaihāḷi

“In the middle of the words the consonants ma and ḷa change
into ga; ka into va, dhya into ddi.”

SDS 290

Examples :

ma > ga

yamunā – jagune

ḷa > ga

jaḷūke – jigule

ka > va

ḍIkaram – sIvaram

dhya > *ddi*

adhyakṣam – addikam

“In the middle of the words the consonant *t* becomes *r*, *ṭ* or *g*, *t* occurring finally becomes *ḍ* or *h*.”

SDS 291

Examples:

t > *r*

khātikā – kārīke

t > *ṭ*

pattanam – paṭṭaṇam

t > *g*

utkaṭam – uggaṭam

atasi – agase

t > *ḍ*

saṅghātam – saṅgaḍam

t > *h*

tvaritam – tuviham

CHANGES IN THE FINAL POSITION

“Final *n*, *jñ*, *k* become *ṇ*, *n* becomes *ṇ* in the middle also, final *a* becomes *e*, *i*, or *u*.”

SDS 292

Examples:

n > *ṇ*

khani – kaṇi

sthānam – tāṇam

pattanam – paṭṭaṇam

jñ > *ṇ*

ājñe – āṇe

k > *ṇ*

nartaki – naccapi

-n- > *-ṇ-*

śunakam – soṇagam

a > *e*

śāṇam – sāṇe

kusumbham – kusumbe

cīram – sīre

haṃsam – aṇce

pādukam – hāvuge

a > *i*

kambalam – kambaḷi

pāṭaḷam – pādari

argaḷam – aguḷi

sasyam – sasi

a > *u*

daṇḍam – daṇḍu

sphaṭikam – paḷiku

rūpam – rūpu

kūṭam – kōḍu

“Final *u* becomes *i*, sometimes *i* is changed to *u* or *e*, final *a* is also elided.”

SDS 293

Examples:

u > *i*

kharju – kajji

i > *u*

granthi – gaṇṭu

sandhi – sandu

i > *e*

saptami – sattave

puṣkaraṇi – hokkaraṇe

tulasi – toḷace

Elision of the final vowel

kīlam – kīl

kōṇam – kōṇ

mīnam – mīn

nīram – nīr

"The final letter of the above words elides; garaṇa substitutes the word grahaṇa."

SDS 294

Examples:

āścaryam – accari
pragraham – haggam
vijñāpanam – binnapam

"The final r in the words krūra and prakāra becomes ḷ and ḷ respectively. The ṇ of the word grāmīṇa becomes ḷ."

SDS 295

Examples:

krūram – kṛḷ
prakāram – pākḷ
grāmīṇam – gāvila

Other changes :

"Śva, sva, dva, dhva, lva, jva, ḷva & tva, lose their v, sna loses its n, jya, sya, kya, nya, vya, śya & ṣya lose their y"

SDS 296

Examples :

Elision of v

īśvaram – īsaram
śvānam – sānam
svargam – saggam
svaram – saram
dvīpam – dīvam
dviguṇam – duguṇam
dhvani – dani
sulvam – sulu
jvaram – jaram
khiḷvam – kīḷ
tvaritam – turiham

Elision of n

snuṣā – sose

Elision of y

jyoti – joti
sasyam – sasi
amāvāsyē – amāvāse
māṇikyam – māṇikam
nyūnam – nūnam
vyavahāram – bevahāram
vāṁsyam – vāsam
āyusyam – āyisam

"Ja becomes ya; sa, ca, da, bha becomes ha, pa, va; r becomes ḷ or ḷ."

SDS 297

Examples :

rājam – rāyam
kuṭajakam – koḍasige
lāmajjam – lāmaṇcam
muñjam – mode
vallabham – ballaham
bhiṇḍivālam – piṇḍivālam
vṛṣabham – basavam
kuṭhāram – koḍali
marīcam – meḷasu

"ddha becomes ḍḍa, ḍa or jja; dha becomes ja; ṣṭa becomes ḍḍa, ṭṭa or ṭa; ṣṭha becomes ṭṭa or ṭa"

SDS 298

Examples :

vardhaki – baḍḍagi or baḍagi
paddhati – pajje
dhātu – jādu
kāṣṭam – kaḍḍi
niṣṭuram – niṭṭuram
piṣṭam – piṭṭu
saurāṣṭram – soraṭam

"In the place of ma in dāḍima and kūṣmāṇḍa ba comes; and ṣa and bindu in kūṣmāṇḍa elide".

SDS 299

Examples :

dāḍimam – dāḍimbam
kūṣmāṇḍam – kumbaḷam

“First and second syllables receive the bindu; bindu is sometimes dropped”.

SDS 300

Examples :

Bindu in first syllable

tātam – tande
kūṣmāṇḍam – kumbaḷam

Bindu in second syllable

dāḍimam – dāḍimbam

Dropping of bindu

Samskr̥tam – Sakkadam

Optionally no dropping

manthani – mantāṇi
ankuṣam – ankuṣam

“In the second syllable a becomes e; ā also becomes e; ū becomes a; a long vowel is shortened; the last situation is found in third syllable also”

SDS 301

Examples :

a > e

ujjayani – ujjeṇi

ā > e

rasāyanam – raseyanam

u > a

nirūpīṣidam – niraviṣidam

long > short

prasāḍhanam – pasadanam
vināyakam – benakam

In third syllable

uttarīyakam – uttarige
vardhamānam – baddavaṇam

“In the third syllable a becomes i, o or u; u becomes a”.

SDS 302

Examples :

a > i

hiṅgūlikam – iṅgulikam

a > o

suraparṇi – surahonne

a > u

ālasyakam – alasuge

u > a

kustamburu – kottumbari

“In the third syllable a becomes o; a syllable of the second, third and fourth place is affected by elision”.

SDS 303

Examples :

a > o

āṭarūṣakam – āḍasoge

Elision of second syllable

vyavahāram – bēhāram

Elision of third syllable

palyayanam – hallaṇam
vināyakam – benakam

Elision of fourth syllable

uttarīyakam – uttarige

Compounds of Tadbhavas

“In forming compounds both words are to be tadbhavas. In some cases, it is also allowed to some compounds wherein either of the words is an unmodified Sanskrit word”

SDS 304

Examples:

Both *tadbhavas*

sarvalakṣaṇam – sabbalakṣaṇam
 varṇaśaram – baṇṇasaram
 sthānadīpīke – tāṇadīvige
 vīraśrī – bīrasiri

Second word *tadbhava*

maṅgaḷaprasādhanaṁ –
 maṅgaḷavasadanam
 paramaśrī – paramasiri
 parabrahmam – parabommam

First word *tadbhava*

triguṇam – tiguṇam
 trivaḷi – tivaḷi
 padagati – payagati
 yamadaṇḍam – javadaṇḍam

Both *non – tadbhavas*

māṇikabhaṇḍāram

“In the beginning of compounds, ēka, dvī, trī, catuḥ, become ekka, du (dū), ti and cau; dvika, trika, catuṣka become duga, tiga, and cauka”.

SDS 305

Examples :

ekka

ēkaśaram – ekkasaram
 ēkasthalam – ekkataḷam

duga

dviśaram – dusaram
 dviguṇam – duguṇam

tiga

triguṇam – tiguṇam
 triśūlam – tisūlam

cau

catuḥpadam – caupadam
 catuḥpaṭṭam – cauvaṭṭam

“When, in compounds, saha and mahat precede a consonant, they become sā and mā”.

SDS 306

Examples :

Saha > sā

sahadēvam – sādēvam
 sahavāsi – sāvāsi

Mahat > mā

mahādēvam – mādēvam
 mahādāni – mādāni

No change

sahajātam
 sahadharmi
 mahāgiri
 mahāgajam

“When, in compounds, the first letter of the second word is pa, ba or ma, these are often changed into va; in such a case ū of pa is shortened, and the rēpha of a preceding antar is elided”.

SDS 307

Examples:

p > v

haṁsapiṇḍam – aṇceviṇḍu
 pādapaṭṭam – pāyavaṭṭam

b > v

diśābali – desevali
 śarabandham – saravandam

m > v

dēvamānuṣam – dēvavānasam
 ratnamaṇi – rannavaṇi

pū > pu

varṇapūram – baṇṇavuram
 karṇapūram – kannavuram

Elision of rēpha

antaḥpuram – antavuram

No change sometimes

kāṇḍapaṭam – kaṇḍapaṭam
pativratā – hadibade
nirbandhikam – nibbandigam
acchamallikā – accamallige
akṣaramāle – akkaramāle

“As per the previous sūtra (No. 65), in tadbhava compound also k, t, p become g, d, b; further, when the first syllable of the second word suffers elision, the last letter of the first word is lengthened.”

SDS 308

Examples :

k > g

ratnakambaḷam – rannagambaḷi

t > d

māletōraṇam – māledōraṇam
saṅghātataḷam – saṅgaḍadaḷam

p > b

kaṇṇaṇi – kaṇbani

lengthening

dharmapānīya – dammāṇi
kaṁsyatāḷa – kaṁsāḷa

“In compounds, sometimes, the first syllable of the second word elides; sometimes, the last syllable of the first word elides”

SDS 309

Examples :

Elision of first syllable of second word

carmapaṭṭikā – cammaṭṭige, samaṭṭige

Elision of last syllable of first word

dēvakulam – dēgulam
dēśaśākhā – dēśake

“Where ākāra and āgāra and āvaḷike form the second word of a compound, they often lose the initial ā-.”

SDS 310

Examples:

ākāra

citrakāra – cittāra
rūpākāram – rūpāram

āgāra

koṣṭāgāram – koṭṭāram
bhāṇḍāgāram – bhaṇḍāram
dēvāgāram – dēvāram

āvaḷike

dīpāvaḷikā – dīpaḷige, →dīvaḷige

“dvāram, when being the second word of a compound with the tadbhavas siriya, vaṅka, pāṇiya and kaṇṭiya becomes daram, dāram or bāram.”

SDS 311

Examples:

Śrīdvāram – Siriyadaram,
Siriyadāram,
Siriyabāram

Tatsama words:

“maṇi, maṇcam, paṭṭam, tōraṇam, aṭṭam, gōṇi, sabaḷam, aṅkam, late, kaṅkaṇam, kōṇṭe, balam, aṅgaṇam, bilam, bandi, māle, gāḷam, gaḍam.”

SDS 312

“gallam, mallam, taḷam – these are the tatsamas – the words found commonly in Sanskrit and Kannada both.”

SDS 313

Examples:

makuṭamaṇi
kāṇcanamaṇcam
paṭṭamahīṣi
makaratōraṇam
aṭṭahasam
pārgoṇi
sabaḷagadyāṇam

mrīgāṅkam
eḷalate
maṇikaṅkaṇam
dhūlikōṇṭe
aṅgaṇavāvi
biladvāram
bandigrahaṇam
vanamāle
gaḷagāḷam
gaṇḍagarvam
gallagivi
mallavātu
karataḷam

“ In forming compounds, not only tadbhava words, but also tadbhava compounds and tatsama compounds may be joined to pure Kannada words ”

SDS 314

Examples:

Tadbhava word and Kannada word

sejjevane
rāyagōṇṭe

Tadbhava compound and Kannada word

tāṇadīvigeveḷagu
jonnavakkigaṇḷa

Tatsama compound and Kannada word

sabaḷagadyāṇadeṇe
pūmāleduḡumbu

Treatment of the Apabhraṃśa topic by Kēśirāja though indicates his proper insight, lacks in the method of treatment. He has vast repertory of items on which he is working. He has collected in detail the vocables of Sanskrit (and Prakrit) that are used in Kannada. He is aware of the changes these vocables have undergone when used in Kannada. But, the general impression about this chapter is that instead of giving the factors underlying these modifications, he has just given a list of words.

Kēśirāja has devoted 47 sūtras for the treatment of tadbhavas. The method he has followed is : first, to give a sūtra being a rule and give examples in support of it. Some of these sūtras contain the reasons for such a change. For example, there are no aspirated sounds in Kannada. Hence, the aspirate of the original changes to unaspirate in Kannada (SDS 269). The sounds ś and ṣ are not found in Kannada. Hence, they are changed to S in Kannada (SDS 267).

But the same cannot be said in all cases. Such sūtras contain the statement of the phenomenon and not the reason. For example, the first letter of each class (k, c, ṭ, t, p) becomes the third letter of that class (g, j, ḍ, d, b): (SDS. 255); dya becomes jya (SDS 259); m becomes v (SDS 277); in the beginning, it now and then happens that i becomes e (SDS 285); similarly u becomes o (SDS 284). In these sūtras Kēśirāja has framed the rules for these examples. But, he does not give any reason for the change. That means, most of the times, these appear to be only the lists of borrowed words and nothing more. The treatment of tadbhavas by Kēśirāja is not precise and does not exhaust the reasons underlying these borrowed words. Some such attempt is made in the following pages.

Our grammarians have classified the vocabulary of Kannada language into five categories :

- 1 Dēśya – indigenous words
- 2 Tatsama – unchanged or slightly changed words from Sanskrit
- 3 Samasaṃskṛita – words common to Kannada and Sanskrit
- 4 Tadbhava – Sanskrit words changed to suit Kannada language
- 5 Anyadēśya – Foreign words (other than Sanskrit)

Dēśya are the pure Kannada words. Hence, they do not fall under the category of words to be studied under this section. Anyadēśya, according to our grammarians, are words borrowed from the language other than Sanskrit (and Prakrit). In fact, if we follow the literal meaning of the term anyadēśya, viz., foreign, it has to include even tadbhava words in it. But, as our tradition gave an important place to Sanskrit, they created a separate category as tadbhava, to refer

only to Sanskrit (and Prakrit). About samasaṃskṛita, as the words are commonly found both in Kannada and Sanskrit, there is not much to study other than giving a list. But, there is a problem here. What is the meaning of this commonness? Are they Sanskrit words which have not changed in Kannada? or are they Kannada (more specifically Dravidian) words entered into Sanskrit? This is a point because, otherwise they would have been included in Tatsama category. It is also evident that most of the 21 words in the list are of Dravidian origin which proves our point. Of the remaining two categories, viz., Tatsama and Tadbhava, Tatsama words sometimes have not undergone any change while coming to Kannada and here, there is no problem. But if they have undergone even little modification it is a phonological problem. However, the real problem is in Tadbhavas where much change is noticed. Hence, our study has to be concentrated on the Tadbhavas, as these are the words changed to suit the structure of Kannada language. The reason is: at the root of such changes of borrowed words, there is a structure of Kannada language. Depending upon a particular feature of the structure, a particular change is effected. Hence, to study these changes is to study the structure of Kannada.

The structure of the receiving language decides the changes of the borrowed words. Hence, it is necessary to study the structural features of the language and the consequent changes brought about by these features, and phonemic structure being at the root of these changes, the phonemic structure is to be studied in this connection.

But, if we follow the classification of our grammarians into Tadbhava (changed words from Sanskrit) and Anyadāśya (Foreign words other than Sanskrit) it will be difficult to give any satisfactory phonological explanation. Hence, it is necessary to redefine the tadbhava words from Sanskrit, and incidentally, wherever necessary Prakrit. But, we have to include Prakrit regularly. So, we can have the four-fold classification of these two:

- 1 Saṃskṛit sama – (words unchanged from Sanskrit)
- 2 Saṃskṛitabhava – (words changed from Sanskrit)
- 3 Prakritasama – (words unchanged from Prakrit)
- 4 Prakritabhava – (words changed from Prakrit)

This classification helps to solve many riddles in borrowed words from Sanskrit. Some of the words, if treated as changed words from Sanskrit directly, cannot be explained at all. Whereas, if the same

are considered as either Prakritasama or Prakritabhava which is exactly the case, an explanation will be simple. For example, the Sanskrit word, *vakra* becomes *vaṅka* in Kannada. What is the explanation for this? Similarly, Sanskrit *sithila* becomes *saḍila* in Kannada. According to the demands of phonemic structure of Kannada, it would have been *sithila* or *sidila*. All this indicates another source. If these words are explained either as changed or unchanged words from Prakrit (which is that source), then the explanation will be correct. The following list shows the Sanskrit words changed in Prakrit and unchanged in Kannada through Prakrit.

Sanskrit	Prakrit	Kannada
ārya	ajja	ajja
kārya	kajja	kajja
nibha	nepa	nepa
prati	paḍi	paḍi
vakra	vaṅka	vaṅka
sadṛśa	sarisa	sarisa

The following list contains the slightly changed words from Prakrit :

Sanskrit	Prakrit	Kannada
sthānam	ṭhāna	tāṇa
agnī	aggī	aggi
ājñā	āṇā	āṇe
kaṭu	kāro	kāra
kūrpāsa	kuppiso	kuppasa
yajna	jaṇṇa	janna
jyōtṣnā	johna	jonna
tīkṣṇa	tikkha	tikka
sthūla	thoro	tōra
daṃṣṭrā	dāḍhā	dāḍe
prithvī	poḍhami	poḍavi
vaidya	vejjo	bejja
malīna	maila	mayila
sithila	saḍilo	saḍila

śrī	siri	siri
seyyā	sejja	sejje

After explaining such examples, the other examples may be explained in accordance with definite phonemic structural rules of Kannada.

As we have seen, the phonemic structure is at the root of the changes in borrowed words. These changes depend upon the sounds that exist (or not exist) in our language. If a particular sound of Sanskrit is not there in Kannada, then there will be a change. The arrangement of these sounds is the most important factor in the change. The way particular sounds occur in a particular position, the fact whether the sounds cluster or not, if they cluster, whether they are clusters of all sounds or of only particular sounds, even if there are only particular sounds that occur in clusters, do these clusters occur in all the positions etc., are the factors affecting the borrowed words. All this the arrangement of phonemes is termed as phonotactics. Hence, this phonotactics is at the root of these tadbhavas. In the following sections, the features of Kannada phonotactics and the consequent changes brought about by these features are attempted.

VOWELS :

1 There are five vowels in Kannada.

i u e o a

As Sanskrit has these vowels there is no change in the words.

2 There are five long counter parts of these vowels.

ī ū ē ō ā

These vowels also are found in Sanskrit. Hence, no changes.

3 Sanskrit vowels *ṛ* and *ṛī* are not found in Kannada. Further, *ṛī* is not found in any Sanskrit word. Hence, there is no problem of *ṛī*. *ṛ* of Sanskrit changes to *ri* or *ru* of Kannada. Because *ṛ* is central unrounded vowel is heard both as *i* or *u*. This is found in the following words:

ṛtu-ritu, rutu
ṛ ṣī-risi, rusi
ṛṇam-riṇam, ruṇam

mṛgam - migam
śṛṅgāram - siṅgāram
kṛṣṇa - krisna

4 There are no diphthongs in Kannada. Hence the Sanskrit diphthongs *ai* and *au* are changed. In Kannada the second element of these sounds is a consonant viz., *ay* and *av*. Another feature of them is the pronunciation of *ai* in Kannada as *ey*. Hence the Sanskrit words containing these diphthongs change accordingly.

a) *ai* — *ey* (→ *e*)

vaidya - bejja

(other changes will be treated in appropriate sections)

tailikam - telligam

vaiśākham - bēsage

vairam - bēram

b) i) *au* - *av*

yauvanam - javvanam

ii) *au* - *ō*

kaupīnam - kōvanam

iii) *au* - *o*

saurāṣṭram - soraṭam

krauñcam - koñce

5 Depending upon the arrangement of these vowels, the word can change, as the arrangement in the original language may be different. Following is the arrangement of short vowels in Kannada.

Initial	Medial	Final
i	i	i
u	u	u
e	e	e
o	o	-
a	a	a

All the vowels occur in all the positions except *o* which does not occur in a final position. This *o* is not found at the end of free morphemes. But as no such word is borrowed from Sanskrit, the

question does not arise. However some Prakrit words can serve as examples.

Prakrit	Kannada
kāro	kāra
kuppīṣo	kuppasa
thoro	tōra
vejjo	bejja

6 All the five long vowels occur in initial and medial positions but no long vowel occurs in the final position. So the long vowels at the end of Sanskrit words change.

$\bar{i} \rightarrow i$ lakṣmī - lakṣmi, lakumi
Śrī - Sri

$\bar{u} \rightarrow u$ Sarayū - sarayu

$\left. \begin{matrix} e \\ o \end{matrix} \right\}$ there is no distinction of short and long in Sanskrit itself.

$\bar{a} \rightarrow e$

bālā - bāle
śālā - sāle
kalā - kale

A peculiarity is to be noticed here. All long vowels of Sanskrit become short in Kannada. But ā instead of becoming a changes as e. This is difficult to explain.

7 There is a general tendency of shortening the long vowels in Kannada. So the long vowels of Sanskrit are usually short in Kannada.

prasāadhanam - pasadanam
ākāśam - āgasam
tāmbūlam - tambulam
vilāsam - viḷasam
gopālam - gōvaḷam
prayāṇam - payaṇam

8 At some stage of the history of Kannada language (as also South Dravidian languages) proto-Dravidian i, e changed to e and u, o changed to o in Kannada. This phenomenon explains many changes.

$i \rightarrow e$

divasam - devasam
diśā - dese
vināyakam - benakam
bilvapatram - bellavattam
niyamam - nēmam

$u \rightarrow o$

mukham - mogam
sukham - sogam
sudhā - sode
pustakam - hottage
kuntam - kontam
kuṇḍam - koṇḍam

9 An interesting feature of Kannada structure is that both long vowel and consonant cluster do not come in succession. Either it should be a long vowel and a single consonant, or a short vowel and double consonant. Hence the Sanskrit words having different shape will be adapted to Kannada structure.

a) $\bar{v}cc - cvc$

vyāghram - baggam
cūrnā - suṇṇam
kāvyam - kabbam
kāñci - kañci
āryam - ajjam
āścaryam - accari
gōṣṭhi - goṭṭi

b) $\bar{v}cc \rightarrow \bar{v}c$

prākṛitam - pāgadam
jyēṣṭhā - jēṭe
sīrṣakam - sīsakam

CONSONANTS :

10 Compared to Sanskrit all the consonants except ś and ṣ occur in Kannada. These ś and ṣ are changed to s in Kannada.

$\bar{s} \rightarrow s$

śaśi - sasi
kalaśam - kaḷasam

śūlam – sūlam

śunṭhi – sunṭi

ś → s

bhāṣe – bāse

viṣam – viṣam

dōṣam – dōsam

vēṣam – vēsam

11 There are no aspirated sounds in Kannada. Hence aspirated sounds of Sanskrit are deaspirated in Kannada.

khani – kani

khalam – kaḷam

ghaṇṭā – gaṇṭe

ghaṭakam – gaḍige

śunṭhi – sunṭi

rūḍhi – rūḍi

kathe – kate

vidhi – bidi

phalam – paḷam

12 i) All the consonants except ṇ and ḷ occur initially

This arrangement has not affected any word as there is no borrowed word from Sanskrit with ṇ or ḷ in initial position.

ii) All the consonants occur medially

There is no need for any change as all the sounds occur in this position.

iii) No consonant occurs finally

So every word ends in vowel in Kannada.

a) If the Sanskrit word ends in consonant, a vowel is added in Kannada.

apsaras-apsarase

b) Sometimes final consonant is dropped.

jagat-jaga

vidyut-bijju

13 Consonant clusters occur rarely in initial position in Kannada. To avoid initial clusters, either a) the clusters are broken or b) one of the consonants is dropped.

i) To break the clusters i, u or a is inserted.

insertion of i

śri – siri

vyādhām – biyadam

insertion of a

prāṇa – haraṇa

prāyam – harayam

trāṇam – taraṇam

krakacām – karagasam

insertion of u

No examples :

ii) One of the consonants is dropped .

a) Dropping of the first consonant

sparśam – parusam

sphoṭakam – paḷiku

stōmam – tōmam

smaśānam – masaṇam

sthānam – tāṇam

b) Dropping of the second consonant

prayāṇam – payaṇam

svargam – saggam

svaram – saram

dvīpam – dīpam

dhvani – dani

vṛṣabham – basavam

14 Consonant clusters occur in medial position, but not all types of consonants. Only two types of clusters are possible in this position: a) repetition of the same consonant and b) nasal plus homoorganic stop.

i) a) Repetition of the same consonant

karpūra – kappura

kāvya – kabba

prakṣāla – pakkāla

prajvala – pajjaḷa

b) Nasal plus homoorganic stop

As the same situation can be found in Sanskrit also such words do not change.

niścinta – niccinta
nighaṇṭu – nigaṇṭu
praticchanda – paḍicanda

ii) Sometimes the cluster is broken by adding a vowel.

insertion of a

yatna – jatana

insertion of u

tantra – tantura
bhakta – bakuta
rakta – rakuta
harṣa – harusa

insertion of i

varṣam – barisam

15 Assimilation is the cause for many a change in words.

i) *Progressive assimilation*

purgi – huggi
śarkarā – sakkare
yukti – jutti
kastūri – katturi
vistāram – bittaram
niścālam – niccālam

ii) *Regressive assimilation*

vētram – bettam
sūtrikā – suttige
tīvram – tibbam
nidrā – nidde
akṣaram – akkaram
kāvyam – kabbam
agni – aggi

16 In Kannada v changes to b. Hence the following changes are observed in Kannada.

vasati – basadi
vīthi – bīdi
vāpi – bāvi

vēgam – bēgam
vidye – bijje
vandhyā – banje
vṛṣabham – basavam
kāvyam – kabbam

17 p changes to h in Kannada. Hence many Sanskrit words change on account of this.

purgi – huggi
prāyam – harayam
prāṇam – haraṇam
piṣṭham – hiṭṭu

18 b changes to v accounting for the following words.

kabalam – kavaḷam
śibike – sivige
śabam – savam

19 Changing m into v accounts for following words.

bhīmam – bīvam
yamaḷam – javaḷam
grāmam – gāvam
bhūmi – buvi
amare – avare

20 p changes to v. This explains some changes.

kapile – kavile
dīpikē – dīvige
vāpi – bāvi

21 y becomes j. It is peculiar that in many examples of Sanskrit words in Kannada y becomes j. It may be due to the influence of Prakrit where numerous such instances can be noticed.

yave – jave
yaśam – jaśam
yōgi – jōgi
yātrā – jātre
yugam – jugam
vidye – bijje
vaidya – bejja
udyogam – ujjugam

22 In Kannada, usually a voiceless stop between two vowels is voiced. Hence this change is responsible for many words.

ghaṭakam – gaḍige
jaṭā – jaḍe
śunakam – sonagam
aṭavi – aḍavi
mukha – moga
vasati – basadi

23 In some instances c becomes s.

chūrike – surige
chatrikā – suddige
cūnam – suṇṇam
krakacam – karagasam

24 In some other instances s becomes c.

śilpikam – cippigam
śaṣkuli – cakkuli
haṁse – aṁce

25 In some cases the word-initial h is dropped.

haṁse – aṁce
hingu – ingu

This is the way the phonotactics of Kannada operates at the root of tadbhavas. This treatment leaves the words like kukkuṭam-kōḷi etc., which do not conform to any of the above rules. The fact is kōḷi, is a farfetched derivation from kukkuṭam. kōḷi is not a tadbhava of kukkuṭam. Similarly, tande can neither be explained on phonological grounds nor can be derived from tātam as is done by Kēśirāja. There are some such instances in the list of Kēśirāja which cannot be connected.

SUMMARY

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa reveals Kēśirāja as a true grammarian. The following points may be noted in this connection:

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, like most Indian grammars, has been written on the model of Sanskrit grammars. Of the two important Sanskrit schools of grammar, viz., the Pāṇiniyan and the Kātantra, Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa belongs to the Kātantra school, as has been made amply clear in the preceding chapters. The following technical terms used in Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa are from the Kātantra school.

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa uses the term 'svara' for vowel and 'sandhyakṣara' for diphthongs. The terms 'nāmin' and 'vyaṇjana' are also used. The terms on the morphological level, 'liṅga' and 'dhātu' are from Kātantra. The case names, viz., prathamā, dvitīyā, or āmantraṇa are taken from Kātantra. In this way the technical terms used in the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa reveal their indebtedness to the Kātantra school.

However Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa is not without the impact of the Pāṇiniyan school. Terms like 'upasarga', 'nipāta' etc., and 'sambuddhi' for the locative case are from the Pāṇiniyan school. Kēśirāja therefore is indebted to the Pāṇiniyan school to some extent though his grammar largely belongs to the Kātantra school.

Structure :

Kēśirāja had great insight to recognise two layers of Kannada, viz., pure Kannada and Kannada mixed with Sanskrit and Prakrit words. Kēśirāja is aware of varṇās (phonemes) which are exclusively native and also those pertaining to Sanskrit and Prakrit. His attempt to arrive at the number of 'śuddhaḥ' (inventory of Kannada

phonemes) is almost like the modern concept of *overall pattern* (the one used in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Kannada words) and a *common core* (found in the native words). The fixation of short e and o, as inherent in the Kannada phonemic inventory shows the true phonologist having the concept of minimal pairs, phonemes, etc.

A formal grammarian:

While describing the Sandhi phenomenon, Kēśirāja states that in the case of words indicating appreciation or acceptance there is no Sandhi. The criterion here followed is the meaning. In sūtra 81, if a suffix comes after the stem indicating negation etc., then n, ṇ are doubled. Here again, he is relying on the meaning. Like this and in many other instances, Kēśirāja clearly takes meaning as the criterion. But he is a formal grammarian first. The meaning which cannot be a sure ground for description, need not be relied upon. If it is the form that underlies the analysis it will be precise. Formal grammarian that he is, Kēśirāja, in the majority of the cases, reveals such insight. The sūtras like 79, where he says, "If after words ending in n, ṇ, l, y and l and containnig a short vowel, another vowel comes, the word final consonant will be doubled". This shows complete reliance on form.

But more than this, there are other examples which are to his credit. While speaking of the gender suffix, he says that -aḷ expressing the feminine replaces the neuter suffix. The question whether -aḷ is a replacement or not, it is remarkable that Kēśirāja tries to establish the suffixes on formal grounds. He says (231) that the masculine and feminine plural -ar etc., comes as a substitute for the neuter plural suffix -gaḷ. Though he is not correct here, it is like a true formal grammarian to derive other forms from some basic form. Many instances may be added to show Kēśirāja as a formal grammarian.

Kēśirāja as a Kannada Grammarian:

Though there are three grammarians of Kannada language, Kēśirāja's position is unique in the Kannada grammatical field. The first Kannada grammarian, Nāgavarma wrote his grammar on the Kannada language in Sanskrit. Though he wrote one in Kannada, it was only a summary of the other. The last of the Kannada grammarians also wrote his grammar in Sanskrit. It was Kēśirāja who wrote a fullfledged Kannada grammar. He wrote it in Kannada unlike Nāgavarma and it is a full-length grammar.

Kēśirāja gives greater emphasis to Kannada forms than anybody else. The list of 181 words which ranges from one to five meanings, a second list containing words with bindu and without bindu; a third list containing 985 Kannada roots and finally a list of 233 different words, along with their meaning – all these point to his Kannada consciousness, and his pains-taking labour. The wide range of works he has put to use is really amazing. Works from Nṛpatuṅga and even earlier to his own are used to illustrate his points. He is a real grammarian, in so far as he frames his rules on the basis of usage (prayōga śaraṇāḥ vaiyākaraṇāḥ). And the wealth of examples given by him is one more pointer to his greatness as a grammarian.

Another important factor contributing to the greatness of Kēśirāja is that he notes even colloquial features. This is quite unexpected of a grammarian of his time; for, it was a strong belief with the pundits of those times that colloquial usages are out of consideration for grammar. They were 'asiṣṭa' forms. While speaking of the change of p to h, Kēśirāja admits such a change and even says that this is beautiful in colloquial Kannada. Another instance where he has noticed colloquial forms is when he is condemning people who pronounce words like beral, eral, koral etc., (sūtra 38) as -ḷ ending. Whether his condemnation is right or wrong, the important feature here is his study of colloquial forms.

The sūtra on beral, eral, koral etc., also reveals one more great quality of Kēśirāja, viz., his forthright condemnation of a mistake if he feels it is one. This quality is worthy of a writer on śāstra. He says that the rustics pronounce words like beral, eral, koral etc., which end in -l, as ending in -ḷ, because of misunderstanding. Whether it was misunderstanding on the part of the people who pronounced them as -ḷ ending is not the question here. Rather it is the attitude of Kēśirāja who could not tolerate the mistake.

Another instance of such an attitude is when Kēśirāja condemns people who make a Sandhi between a short vowel ending word and a word beginning with a consonant cluster (sūtra 70). He calls such people 'low'.

A true grammarian

The quality of the true grammarian revealed in the above instances is further corroborated in some other form. Wherever he has a doubt he never conceals it. He clearly admits that he is not

sure whether it is this sound or that. One example of this is sūtra 35. He gives a list of words like jhaḷakam, jhaḷapisidam etc., and says he is doubtful whether there is ḷ or ḻ in them. This quality is really commendable. Kēśirāja frequently uses words like bahuḷam, bahulagrahaṇadim, vikalpam, samuccyavaśadim etc. In a rigorous grammar, such terms, though inevitable, are to be minimised as far as possible.

Kēśirāja who followed the grammatical works of Nāgavarma wrote a grammar different from them. Scholars like R. Narasimha-char say that Śabdamañidarpaṇa is an exemplification of Nāgavarma's grammatical works. This does not mean that Kēśirāja was without originality. He is original in many respects and his grammar is based on independent research. He was fortunate in having before him a great number of works by great poets like Kavirāja Mārga of Nṛipatuṅga, Pampa Bhārata, Ranna's Gadāyuddha, Ponna's Śānti Purāṇa, and his father's anthology entitled 'Sūktisudhārṇava' etc., to mention only a few. This great tradition, the number of works by previous writers and his own scholarship contributed to make the Śabdamañidarpaṇa a great grammar.

The large number of works before him also provided him with a fund of examples. This enabled him to frame new rules and modify the rules laid down by previous authors. His untiring labour was also equal to the search for new avenues in colloquial forms. His labour and scholarship contributed a great deal in making Śabdamañidarpaṇa the most popular of grammars, not only in his own times but even today.

About the greatness of Śabdamañidarpaṇa, it will suffice to cite the statement of Dr. Burnell: "The great and real merit of Śabdamañidarpaṇa is that it bases the rules on independent research and the usage of writers of repute; in this way it is far ahead of the Tamil and Telugu treatises, which are much occupied with vain scholastic disputations".

REARRANGEMENT OF THE SUTRAS

The sūtras of Śabdamañidarpaṇa are rearranged. This is not to show that Kēśirāja's arrangement was inadequate, but it is an attempt to rearrange to suit the modern concept.

Phonetics

9 44 40 26 39

Phonemics

12 13 14 41 42 43 16 17 18 19 20 23 24 25 27
21 22 172 26 15 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37
38 39 46 47 48 50 49 51 52 53 54 55

Sandhi

59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73
74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81

Morphology

45 86 82 58 56 83 84 85 90 91 92 93 94 95 96
97 98 99 100 101 102 166 104 105 107 108 111 112
113 148 150 155 103 115 116 138 139 116 117 118 120
140 141 122 123 124 125 142 126 143 127 144 129
130 134 135 136 145 131 137 146 147 119 121 87 167
68 107 163 164 88 89 157 158 159 160 161 162 165
106

Derivatives

208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219
220 221 222 223 224 225 226

Samasa

173 174 185 175 176 177 178 187 181 182 183 184
186 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198
199 200 201 202 203 179 180

Indeclinables

315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326
327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337

Verbal Themes

227 228 264 265 230 231 232 233 243 244 247 248
249 250 251 252 253 256 238 239 240 241 242 245 246
254 255 234 235 236 237 261 257 258 263 229 262

Syntax

133 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156

Borrowing

	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277
278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290
291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303
304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314		

APPENDIX I

GRAMMATICAL LITERATURE

IN KANNADA - A SURVEY

Kannada has produced grammatical literature for the last 1500 years. It is proposed to survey this literature from the point of view of grammar, philology and linguistics.

The grammatical approach has always been confined to a particular language. Our ancients, infact could not have any comparative view and could not think of the working of the other languages. The comparative study of languages began after the contact of western scholars with Sanskrit. Comparison is the heart of this trend. This approach, having comparison as its tool, is called comparative philology. Comparative philology aims at comparison of various languages, various stages of the same language, the codification of the resultant rules and so on. The aim is to know the earliest form of a language and the earliest form of all languages. This is a matter of emphasis in the study of language. But we must note that this approach was a development of the grammatical approach.

Not very different from the above, but still having sufficient grounds to be called a separte approach, is the linguistic approach. In comparative philology, the forms of two or more stages of the same language, are compared. But there is no attempt, to know the working of the language, the basic material of the language viz., the sound system and the like. All topics connected with language are dealt with in linguistics. The previously known comparative philology forms a part of linguistics with the title, comparative linguistics and historical linguistics.

GRAMMATICAL APPROACH

Much of our grammatical literature including the grammars written for use in schools belongs to the category of grammatical approach.

Kavirāja Mārga

Kavirāja Mārga is the first available work in the Kannada language. Hence, it occupies a unique place in the history of Kannada literature. But the importance of Kavirāja Mārga does not lie only in the fact that it is the first work. Being the work on poetics it furnishes valuable information about the poets that preceded it, the boundaries of Karnataka, the characteristics of the Kannada people, and so on.

Kavirāja Mārga, though a work on poetics, deals also with some grammatical topics. This treatment though complementary to poetics is very important, as the treatment of Kannada grammar is found here for the first time. Now the question arises why the grammatical topics are dealt with in a book on poetics. The aim of the writers on poetics is to help in producing good literary composition. This is done by explaining various ancillary but relevant subjects and the grammar which deals with the language aspect of literature is very important among them. Hence many grammatical topics mainly mistakes a rising out of the faulty use of these concepts are found in Kavirāja Mārga. Grammar which professes the correct use of language naturally forms the basis of literature. This is the reason why grammatical topics are dealt with in a book on Kavirāja Mārga. The various grammatical topics in Kavirāja Mārga are discussed below.

Kannada and old Kannada

The nature of a living language is to change. As the language is constantly changing new features are at times introduced. When the features become too many, a situation will arise when we are not able to understand the previous forms. When many new features are found in a language, the old and the new features will become less and less mutually intelligible. From the point of view of time the previous stage will be old in relation to present. In this process Kannada has four such stages.

Ancient Kannada (Pūrvada haḷagannaḍa)

Old Kannada (Haḷagannaḍa)

Mediaeval Kannada (Naḍugannaḍa)

Modern Kannada (Hosagannaḍa)

Kavirāja Mārga belongs to the old Kannada and the old Kannada referred in it is the ancient Kannada. The verse referring to old Kannada in Kavirāja Mārga is :

Nelasida kāvyam kāvya
kke lakṣaṇamsatatamende paḷagannaḍamam
Polegeḍisi nuḍivarāgama
Balahīnar dēsiyalladendaridirdum¹

' Believing that the established poetry sets always the standard for the forthcoming poetry, the people not conversant with tradition, spoil old Kannada, though they fully know that it is not in vogue '.

In the next verse the author illustrates his point.²

Dorekoṇḍire sogayisugum
Purāṇakāvya prayōgadoḷ tatkālam.
Virasaṁ karaṁava dēṣige
Jaradvadhūviṣaya surata rasa rasikatevōl.

' If old Kannada is found in old poetry, it is beautiful for that time. The use of the same in Dēssi is like courting an old lady '.

What is the author's intention in these verses? Does he refer to the old Kannada stage of the language? By the time of Kavirāja Mārga (9th century A. D.) the form of Kannada belonging to the previous centuries was difficult to understand. For this he gives the examples of ' poḍavipati goravanene ' which was difficult to understand at that time. R. Narasimhachar says³ that ' paḷagannaḍa ' refers to the stage of Kannada previous to Kavirāja Mārga. A. N. Narasimhaiah's study⁴ also testifies to the same fact. The word ' paḷagannaḍa ' refers to the form of old Kannada that was in vogue before Kavirāja Mārga. The same may be equated with the ancient Kannada stage.

Samasaṁskṛita - Kannada :

One of the important processes by which the language changes is borrowing. In addition to many processes working internally in the language, borrowing enriches the language. The Kannada language because of its contact with Sanskrit (and Prākṛit) borrowed many

items from those languages. Procedures about the use of words borrowed from Sanskrit etc. in Kannada are dealt with in the 'Samasaṁskṛita' section.

'Samasaṁskṛita' is a significant term in the Kannada grammatical literature. Kavirāja Mārga states that in accordance with the opinion of the established writers, Kannada and 'Samasaṁskṛita' may be used together. But the author says that it should not be. This is noticed in the following verse:

samasamskritaṅgaḷol a⁵
 ḷtamardira kannaḍamanāṇḍiduḷgembudidā
 gamakōvidanigaditamā
 rgamidam berasalkamāgadī sakkadadoḷ

The writers before Kavirāja Mārga advocated the mixing of Sanskrit and Kannada words. But according to the author of Kavirāja Mārga this should not be done. To illustrate, he gives a list of Sanskrit adverbials 'ahar, muhuḥ, uccaiḥ, nīcaiḥ, itastataḥ, antar, bahir'. He says these adverbials cannot be used in Kannada as free morphemes nor can they be combined in compounds with Kannada morphemes. They can only be combined with 'Samasaṁskṛita'. His concept of 'Samasaṁskṛita' can be inferred from the following examples.

bahirudyān, sahasōdita, uccairdhvānaṁ, aharnisam.

The morphemes udyāna, udita, dhvāna, niśā are in his opinion 'Samasaṁskṛita'. The entire matter crystalizes to that the indeclinables like the adverbials antar, bahir, cannot be used in Kannada as free morphemes and they can form compounds with another Sanskrit form that can be used independently as a free morpheme in Kannada, and the resultant form can be used in Kannada. The examples he gives are: bahirudyān, sahasōdita etc. But there can be no question of combining a Sanskrit with a Kannada word. Such examples as arasukumāra, keladisamēta, parigatange, mukhadāvare, etc., are wrong, as they contain a word from two languages. Hence such usages have to be avoided. Instances of correct formation are narapatitanaya, parigatahāsyā, mukhasarasija where both components are from Sanskrit.

A topic closely allied with Samasaṁskṛita is that of Tatsama. Both Samasaṁskṛita and Tatsama are treated in the later grammars

separately. As we have discussed these topics in earlier sections in detail, we refrain from a thoroughgoing discussion of them here.

Kannaḍaṅgaḷ :

As language goes on changing it is but natural that, in the course of time, there will be variant forms in it. When there is sufficient number of such changed features in every speech community, each speech community attains the status of a dialect. Kannada which was the dialect of the Dravidian became an independent language in course of time. In Kannada itself this process naturally continued, and there were many dialects and the dialect differences were too obvious. Hence the author of Kavirāja Mārga had to take note of them.

dōṣaminitendu bagedu
 dhāṣisi taṇṣandu kannaḍaṅgaḷolendum
 vāsugiyumaṇiyālāṇade
 bēsaṇugum dēsi bēṇevēṇappudaṇim⁶

He alludes to many varieties in Kannada. Each dialect must have its own distinct features. The dialect differences being many, it was impossible to know all of them. This is inferred from the phrase 'dēṣibēṇevēṇappudaṇim'. So far, the scholars used to think that the term 'Kannaḍaṅgaḷ' meant 'many Kannaḍas' i.e. many dialects in Kannada. But the meaning of 'Kannaḍaṅgaḷ' being 'Kannada words', the variation in language is hinted by 'bēṇe dēsi', viz., regional usage. In Kavirāja Mārga itself, on another occasion where the term 'Kannaḍaṅgaḷ' is used, it has the sense of Kannada words which is an agreed fact among scholars. Verse 1-46 of Kavirāja Mārga which is quoted above suggests other ideas also. By the time of Kavirāja Mārga, there were many dialectal forms in Kannada. Hence, it was difficult to understand the different forms as each had its own feature. So each region had its characteristic features.

These different dialect forms were used in literature. The tendency of our traditional grammarians is obvious. They do not take cognisance of the spoken forms. Such a process is termed as mistaken⁷. Only in literary composition is the standard common language used where we cannot find many divergent forms. In these circumstances, if there is mention of different usages, it suggests that these forms were used in literature.

The standard and predominant common dialect might not have been evolved by then. Naturally each region may possess forms peculiar to its own area. In course of time, each speech community goes on adding such features. The influential local dialect will be the medium for literary composition. Hence, if there are many variant forms belonging to different regions in literature, it means that there had not evolved a single form of language which had assimilated the forms of different areas. The standardisation and consequently the predominance of one standard common dialect, might not have been complete. In the area under consideration, there may be variant forms, which may be termed 'free variation'. If the particular word is peculiar to a particular area, it is a regional variation. Both these are found in Kavirāja Mārga.

Dakṣiṇōttara Mārga :

This is one of the most controversial topics in Kavirāja Mārga. Since the publication of this work there has been a heated debate on the connotation of the term 'Dakṣiṇōttara Mārga'. Some scholars say that it refers to regional variation – south and north. Some other scholars⁸ are equally vocal in their view that it does not refer to any regional variation. For this situation, the author of Kavirāja Mārga himself is responsible. He has used the term without defining it. Further, he has mixed up the Sanskrit and Kannada material and that has led to confusion. Let us try to present the material in Kavirāja Mārga and deduce the conclusions arising out of it.

Before setting out to discuss Dakṣiṇōttara Mārga, let us try to understand the term 'mārga' itself. Organs like feet, hands, head, stomach, face though found in the same location in all persons, yet differ from one another. Similarly, compositions having figures of speech and thought appear to be similar, but differ owing to the practice of poets. Though the basic structure of words and the meanings is the same, the compositions of different poets are different. Why is it so? It is because every poet has his own way of using his material. As there are many poets, there are many styles. Hence the number of styles is countless. Because of the countless number of poets, the resultant variations in speech are so numerous that it is impossible to enumerate and explain them. Upto this, the term refers to the personal variation. Because of the irregular nature of these divisions, it is difficult to explain them. Among these variations the author of

Kavirāja Mārga explains the two styles, the regional styles viz., south and north.

Obviously the term 'mārga' refers here to regional style in contrast to personal style. Though there are different styles of different poets, they are all influenced by the regional style. The characteristics of south and north styles are Vakrōkti and Svabhāvōkti respectively. These terms, Vakrōkti and Svabhāvōkti are taken from Bhāmaha's Kavyāṅkāra, but are applied here to denote south and north styles.⁹ Further the author translates the two verses from Dandi's Kāvyaadarśa.

ślēṣaḥprasādassamātā mādhyamāsukumārātā
arthavyaktirudāratvaṁ ō jaṅkānti samādhayaḥ !
itī vaidarbhi mārgasya prāṇā daśaguṇāḥ smritam
ēṣām viparyayaḥ prāyōdriṣyante gouḍavartmani ! ¹⁰

One important change that is made is: in place of Vaidarbhi the word south (Dakṣiṇa) and in place of Gauḍa north (Uttara) are used. The ten characteristics, viz., Ślēṣa etc., according to Dandi represent the Vaidarbhi style, and their absence the Gauḍa style. Similarly, the south style has all these characteristics, while the north none. There is no difference of opinion among scholars about the connotation of the term 'mārga' in Dandi. It denotes original variation.¹¹ When he translates Dandi, the author refers to regional styles. But when he applies the same to Kannada, i.e., when he gives Kannada examples, he has mixed it up with another feature of regional variation, viz., dialectal variation.

Kannada examples for Dakṣiṇa mārga :

nōlpem, bēlpem, barisuvē, tarisuvē

Examples for Uttara mārga :

nōḍuvē, bēḍuvē, baripē. iripē, taripē

Examples for Uttarōttaramārga :

barippen, tarippen, irippen

The characteristics of various 'mārgās' as seen from the examples are: in 'Dakṣiṇa mārga' –isu is added as suffix to the root which is absent in Uttara mārga; in 'Uttarōttara Mārga' the same is doubled. Historically *barippen* like forms are more ancient than *baripē* and finally *barisuvē*. This point must be further investigated in detail,

as it gives clue to the starting point of most of the innovations. This clue may give a definite direction to the history of the Kannada language.

Do these Dakṣina and Uttara mārgas really refer to regional variations? As stated earlier there is difference of opinion. The reason why they do not refer to regional variation, according to scholars, is that we find both these forms, said to represent regional variations, in the works of Pampa, Ranna and others. If they refer to regions, the argument runs: how can they be used in one work? Only one form representing that region would have been used. Another reason is that in the Kavirāja Mārga we find only the future tense first person forms as examples. No other tense is given as illustration. Hence it is faulty.

As to the first argument, we may say that, whatever the extent of variation, whether there are two or twenty variations in the language, when a particular work is being written, some form of that language has to be used. Of course, though a particular dialect of the language is generally used, still from the point of view of common understanding, usually, forms of all dialects find place. In fact that has to be done deliberately, because though the particular work belongs to a particular region, the author writes for the entire language. Here the process of standardisation meant for the use of all the people of that language, takes place. In such a standard form, many forms which are peculiar to a particular dialect may be found, and the work written in such a standard language may contain forms representative of many regions. That is what has happened in the case of Kannada. The forms representative of Dakṣina and Uttara mārgas which are found in Pampa and Ranna, must be looked at against this background.

About the second argument, viz., that only future tense forms are used, it is no argument at all. As illustrations, only a few forms which are representative and clear are given. So, the author has selected the future tense forms which clearly show such difference. The fact that he has given future tense forms does not necessarily mean that such a change is not found in other tenses. In the absence of any literature before Kavirāja Mārga, we need not hazard such a conclusion.

Kāraḥas :

The author of Kavirāja Mārga who is closely following Dandi and Bhāmha, now turns more to Kannada. In kāraḥa he has become

more original, and the treatment of kāraḥa is meant for the Kannada language. Because it is substantial the kāraḥa topic is a real contribution to Kannada grammar.

kāraḥamāḡu karmakaraṇādikadiṁ prathamādi bhēdani
rdhāraṇadindaṁ piḍidu nilva vibhaktigaḡeḡenikumā !
chāruḡuṇodayaṁ vachanaṁēkabahukramadinderaḡḡeḡa-
kkāraye pēḡvenintivaḡa jātivibhāḡuḡaṇḡaḡam ¹²

There are six kāraḥas and seven cases depending on them. This topic has also become controversial. The kāraḥa is the relation of the noun to the verb. The relation is expressed through cases. In Sanskrit which Kavirāja Mārga follows, there are six kāraḥas. According to Sanskrit grammarians, the genitive case has no kāraḥa, as it expresses the relation between two nouns. In Kavirāja Mārga, while enumerating the six kāraḥas, the author starts with 'Karma karaṇa' etc., and while giving examples, cites cases of the genitive also e. g. 'adhīśvaraṇa daye'. At first sight, it appears that he has omitted the genitive case. How to explain this apparent inconsistency? It is obvious that by using 'idu kāraḥayukta vibhaktyanukrama', he attributes the kāraḥa relation to genitive case also. In this context, the phrase 'karma karaṇādikam' is significant. While enumerating the kāraḥas in Kannada, he starts with the accusative case which means he is not assigning the kāraḥa relation to the nominative case. According to Sanskrit grammarians too, the first case termination does not convey any kāraḥa.¹⁴ The first case termination is added purely for technical reasons and the demarcation of kāraḥas as in Sanskrit cannot be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to Kannada.¹⁴ That Kavirāja Mārga has not included kartru in kāraḥa is evident from the example he gives, viz., 'narapati bandam'. There is no kāraḥa sense (viz., making others do)¹⁵ in kartru. Hence, this is omitted from the kāraḥa relation.

Here the author of Kavirāja Mārga differs from Sanskrit grammarians. The difference is, he has not included kartru in the kāraḥa relation and has included the genitive in kāraḥa, which is different from Sanskrit system. Here we are confined only to the view of Kavirāja Mārga on kāraḥas and not to the system of kāraḥas in Kannada grammar. In this connection, the author of Kavirāja Mārga has shown originality which is valuable for Kannada grammar.

Then he proceeds to enumerate the faults in the use of the kāraḥa. The faults are of various types which arise from the faulty use of

number, conjunction, emphasis and doubt. Here more than the faults, treatment of various concepts like number and conjunction, is important for Kannada grammar.

In addition to the topics dealt above, many topics related to grammar are treated in *Kavirāja Mārga*. They are not dealt here, as the intention is to conduct a survey and not to study *Kavirāja Mārga* in detail. The above topics dealt in detail are very important. However the other topics treated are the following:

Sandhi – visandhi

Virūpasandhi

Number

Conjunction

Emphasis

Doubt

Yativilanghana I-75, 76

Nēyārtha doṣa I-101-103

Śabdānurūpya II-4

Laghu II-6-8

Verbal adjective II-9-12

Fault of particle II-13-14

Long letter in accusative and genitive II-15-18, 20-22

Length in vocative II-23-24

Reduplication II-25-26

Multi-adjective II-27-28

Adjective-substantive compound II-92-96

The grammatical features so far dealt in detail in this section are the original contributions of the author of *Kavirāja Mārga*. They are important being the earliest references found in Kannada. However, it has not only an historical importance, the treatment of the topics is exhaustive and definite. *Kavirāja Mārga*, which is mainly a work on poetics, naturally devotes more space to that topic and less to grammar. The portion on poetics is completely indebted to the Sanskrit tradition, more so in theoretical portion and to some extent in the illustrations. Hence, not much credit goes to the author, as the grammar comes in for the sake of the poetics. The grammatical part on the other hand, refers to Kannada, and is consequently independent. We may say that *Kavirāja Mārga*, though a work on poetics in form, is a work on grammar in substance.

Nāgavarma :

Nāgavarma is the first and the oldest grammarian of the Kannada language whose works are available to us. In *Kavirāja Mārga*, an earlier work than that of Nāgavarma, we have some grammatical topics, but they form part of a work on poetics. There is a mention of other grammar, viz., *Śabdāvatāra* of Durvinita,¹⁶ belonging to 600 A. D., but it is not known whether it is in Sanskrit or Kannada. Another grammarian, *Nayasēna* is mentioned¹⁷ by Nāgavarma himself. But neither any of his works are available nor anything more is heard of him. It is Nāgavarma's two works that are the earliest fullfledged Kannada grammars available.

There was a controversy whether there was one Nāgavarma, or two scholars of the same name. We are not referring to that controversy here. Moreover, that matter has ceased to be as controversial as it was some years back. The works ascribed to Nāgavarma are: *Kāvyaśāloka*, *Chandōmbudhi*, *Karṇāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣana*, *Vastukośa* and *Kādambari*.¹⁸

This view is challenged by most of the scholars, R. Narasimha-char, refuting Rice's theory that there is only one Nāgavarma, says¹⁹ that there are two Nāgavarmas. Nāgavarma, the author of *Chandōmbudhi* and *Kādambari* is different from Nāgavarma the author of *Kāvyaśāloka*, *Karṇāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣana* and *Vastukośa*. Nāgavarma, the author of *Chandōmbudhi* lived at least 150 years earlier than the author of *Kāvyaśāloka*. The earlier Nāgavarma is called Nāgavarma I. He flourished in the tenth century. Nāgavarma II flourished in the twelfth century.

Works :

Of the three works written by Nāgavarma II, *Vastukośa* is a Sanskrit Kannada dictionary composed in various metres. It is the earliest extant work of its kind in Kannada.²⁰ Among other two works, viz., *Kāvyaśāloka* and *Karṇāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣana*, *Kāvyaśāloka* is a standard work on poetics. It is the only comprehensive work in the Kannada language that deals more or less fully with almost every subject relating to poetical composition.²¹ The sūtras are in Kannada verse and copiously illustrated by stanzas from both earlier and contemporary poets along with his own.. The work has five

sections viz., Śabdasmṛiti, Kāvya – māla – vyāvṛitti, Guṇa – vivēka Rīti-krama-rasa-nirūpaṇa and Kavi-samaya.

Of these five the relevant and important section from our point of view is the first viz., Śabdasmṛiti. It is the first extant Kannada grammar though it forms part of a book on poetics. This section like the other is divided into subsections (prakaraṇa). The chapters in Śabdasmṛiti deal with technical terms, euphonic combinations, nouns, compounds, derivatives and inflections.

The division of the chapters of Śabdasmṛiti gives an idea of the extant and variety of grammatical topics of the Kannada language as treated in it. In ninetyseven sūtras he has described the grammatical concepts of Kannada. Nāgavarma II is definite and precise in his treatment.

The work of Nāgavarma II, viz., Karṇāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa is entirely devoted to Kannada grammar. It is in Sanskrit. There are sūtras or aphorisms accompanied by vṛitti or explanatory gloss also in Sanskrit and illustrative verses. It contains ten chapters which are technical terms, euphonic combinations, cases, kāraka, word-process, compounds, derivations, inflections, indeclinables and articles.

All these subjects are explained in 269 aphorisms. The order of the subjects dealt with is the same as that in the Śabdasmṛiti. However the present work contains more detailed information about nouns and verbs and additional chapters on indeclinables and particles.

Editions :

Karṇāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa was first published in 1880 in Mysore and was edited by Pustakam Alasingacharya. It was brought up in a poor style.²² It was again published by B. L. Rice in 1848 at the Mysore Government Press. The text is in both Kannada and Roman characters. B. L. Rice has supplied a scholarly introduction and has translated the aphorisms in English.

R. Narasimhachar edited both Kāvyaśālokaṇa and Karṇāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa and published them together in one volume in 1903. The detailed and scholarly introduction which forms part of the edition is very valuable. In the appendix he gives the common aphorisms found in all the four grammatical works in Kannada which is very helpful in deciding the contribution of each of the grammarians.

This edition was again printed in 1939, revised and edited by H. R. Rangaswami Iyengar. Though he has consulted many more manuscripts not much change is effected. Narasimhachar's scholarly introduction which is in English, given in Kannada in brief, and some points that have come to light since the previous edition, have been incorporated.²³ This edition was published for the third time in 1967 by Mysore University. It was H. Deverappa who revised it. Two more manuscripts are made use of. Not many changes from the first and second editions are found.

Kāvyaśālokaṇa was edited by Prof. S. S. Basavanal and Kepu Shankara Narayana and was published by Karnāṭaka Vidyāvardhaka Sangha, Dharwar in 1939. The characteristic feature of this edition is the addition of exhaustive notes very helpful for understanding the work.

There is an edition of Śabdasmṛiti, printed separately. In the book available to us, nothing about the editor, publisher, year of publication is found. A speciality of this edition is that, after every aphorism of Śabdasmṛiti there follows a parallel aphorism from Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, Karṇāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa and Śabdānuśāṇa. Some chapters are packed with quotations from these works. For example, the chapter on 'lingam' starts with Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa sūtra 8 and after it, these are many sūtras from it. 'Apabhraṃśa' chapter starts with the sūtra from Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, and the chapter contains material from this work alone.

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa of Kēśirāja :

Unlike other grammars in Kannada, Kēśirāja's Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa is a wellknown grammar. It is the principle standard grammar of the Kannada language.²⁴ It is the only fullfledged Kannada grammar in more than one sense. In Kavirāja Mārga, stray grammatical concepts are dealt with. Śabdasmṛiti which is written in Kannada forms a section of a work on poetics. Nāgavarma's second work, Karṇāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa is entirely devoted to Kannada grammar and is in Sanskrit. Śabdānuśāṇa is also written in Sanskrit. The only grammar entirely devoted to Kannada and also written in that language is based on Nāgavarma's works and on Kavirāja Mārga and it draws fresh material from both literary and colloquial Kannada. Thus Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa occupies a unique position in Kannada grammatical literature.

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa contains aphorisms in Kannada verses. Each aphorism is accompanied by a gloss which is provided by the authors. There are again illustrative stanzas. The total number of aphorisms is 320. The work includes eight chapters besides the introductory chapter, which are euphonic combination, nouns, derivatives, verbs, verbal roots, words corrupted from the Sanskrit and indeclinables.

The headings clearly show how closely Kēśirāja has followed Nāgavarma II in the treatment of the subject. Kēśirāja also makes use of illustrative stanzas and aphorisms from Kāvyaśāloka. The Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa may, in fact, be considered as an expansion of Nāgavarma II's grammatical works.²⁵

Glosses (Vritti) : Commentaries on Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa :

There is a wide agreement among scholars that Kēśirāja himself has written a gloss on his aphorisms. Kēśirāja himself says²⁶ that rhyme, prosody etc., determine the use of some words, or that order. Hence to explain sūtra, he wrote gloss on it. One more evidence is the remark of Lingannārādhyā in his gloss on sūtra 69.²⁷ Hence we can say that Kēśirāja himself wrote the first gloss on his sūtras. The name of that gloss is Śabdamaṇivritti.

There seems to have been a person by name Kam...sappa who has written a commentary (Vyakhyāna) on the sūtras of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. This is gathered from the Madras edition. There Lingannārādhyā in his gloss says, "sarāphamidirāge dōṣam endu Kam...sappa tām māḍida Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa vyākhyānadoḷ baredam."²⁸ The full name of this commentator is not known as part of it is damaged.

In the manuscript of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa available in the Osmania University, there is a different commentary. This commentary is according to D. K. Bhimasenarao,²⁹ different from that of Kam...sappa and someone else must have written it.

Then there is a gloss of Lingannārādhyā, which is included in the Madras edition of the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. He is a Veerashaiva scholar who might have flourished in the sixteenth century.³⁰ The title of this gloss is 'Sūtrānvaya ratnamāle'. This gloss is important in that it supplies correct readings for some sūtras of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa which were not available so far.³¹

There is a commentator named Niṭṭūra Nanjayya, according to D. L. Narasimhachar or Niṣṭūra Nanjayya according to F. Kittel. His

commentary was included for the first time in the second edition of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa by F. Kittel. It was also included in the second edition of the same by D. L. Narasimhachar.

There is a modern commentary by H. S. Biligiri, the title of which is Āloka. The commentator's plan is to publish Āloka in three parts, the first of which was printed in 1969, by Aksara Prakasana, Sagara. In this commentary, the author gives information about the Sanskrit technical terms, explanations according to traditional manner and explanations applying modern principles of linguistics. Therefore this work is more useful in understanding Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa.

Editions :

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa was first published in 1868, edited by J. Garrett. It was printed at the Mysore Government Press, Bangalore. It contains a brief two page introduction in English called 'Advertisement'. The book contains vi+321 pp. in crown size. The order of chapters is aphorism, commentary, gloss, illustration etc. There are many mistakes in each page. According to D. L. Narasimhachar it deserves an imperfect manuscript value.³²

J. Garrett, who was the then Director of Education, Madras Province, wondering as to why that standard grammar in Kannada had not been published for general use so far took the initiative in printing it. He writes in his introduction: "... but the fact is, there is a general unwillingness to make valuable books common".³³ It is a common experience that manuscripts are more worshipped than printed.

The book is printed in Kannada. Notes, explanations etc., are not supplied by the editor. The scheme followed is aphorism, commentary, gloss, etc. In the commentary are found illustrations of the various topics carried by the aphorisms. There are many mistakes, printing and others, found in the book which do not reduce the value of this book. It heralded many more editions of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa by various scholars.

'Kēśirāja Kaviya Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa' by F. Kittel was published by the Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository, in Mangalore in 1872. This second modern publication of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa came out four years after the publication of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa by J. Garrett in 1868. One important feature of this edition is the valuable introduction of

more than 26 pages. This edition contains valuable information about the author, his age, the commentator Niṣṭūra Nanjayya, his age and comparison of Kannada forms with those of Tulu, Badaga etc. The information is very valuable for the study of Kēśirāja and his grammar.

This edition also includes the commentary of Niṣṭūra Nanjayya, which is useful in understanding Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. The scheme of the book is as follows: aphorism (sūtra), separation of the words in the aphorism (padachēda), arrangement of the words in their prose order as given in the ṭīku (anvayam), commentary by Niṣṭūra Nanjayya (tīku) and then the author's explanatory gloss (vritti) and lastly the illustrations (prayōga). Thus it is very exhaustive and nothing is left out of the work from the point of understanding Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. In addition, Kittel adds a summary note in English to every aphorism, which contains its meaning in summary and is thus useful for the understanding of the aphorism. In the chapter IX, he has given a prayōgasāra, a commentary on uncommon words. In the appendix he gives the variant readings found in the manuscripts. In this way F. Kittel's edition is valuable with its introduction, exhaustive and orderly treatment of the matter, explanatory notes etc., which have made this edition particularly useful in the study of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa.

The second edition of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa by F. Kittel was published in a revised form in 1899 from Mangalore. In this edition, one more manuscript from Mudabidare is made use of. Except slight alterations in the case of Kēśirāja's quotations from earlier poets,³⁴ not much is added to the first edition. The third edition of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa by Kittel was brought out in 1920, revised by Panje Mangeshrao. In this edition, Nāgavarma's aphorisms, which form the basis of those of Kēśirāja are given.³⁵ The illustrative verses are given numbers. As a result this edition has made Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa more informative and more useful. The fourth edition of Kittel's book was published by S. S. Kulkarni, Dharwar, in 1965, while Sediyaṇu Krishna Bhatta and V. R. Koppal have helped in revising this edition.

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, including the commentary by Niṣṭūra Nanjayya, was published by Karnataka Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore, in 1920. The name of the edition is not available. 'Sirigannada Granthakartara Charitra Kōsha' mentions³⁶ about the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa edited by Bellave Venkatanarayanappa. This is possibly published by the Sahitya Parishat.

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa was published in the Madras University Kannada Series in 1959. It was edited by A. Venkata Rao and Shesha Iengar, H. Channakeshava Iengar being the general editor. No gloss of Kēśirāja is found in this edition, the commentary of Lingaṇārādhya is included for the first time.

It contains a detailed and exhaustive introduction which deals with the general features of the book. The commentator, Lingaṇārādhya, in his commentary 'Sūtrānvaya Ratnamāle' gives a detailed chapterwise discussion of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa; with the treatment of some of the important concepts in Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, such as Gamaka Samāsa, Śrutisahya Sandhi, and Satisaptami. At the end of the text are given nine appendices where we can find, in addition to the usual alphabetical index etc., the translation of the equivalent aphorisms from the Katantra grammar.

Thus, the Madras University edition is really a commendable edition and is most useful to students of grammatical literature in Kannada in general, and of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa in particular. The usefulness of the introduction may be guessed from the statement of D. L. Narasimhachar, who in the 'Prastāvaṇe' of his edition, says that as the exhaustive introduction in the Madras edition was available he did not feel the necessity of writing one himself.

The first edition of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa by D. L. Narasimhachar was published in 1959 by Sharada Mandira, Mysore. In the light of the earlier editions, he has attempted to give the corrected versions of the aphorisms, commentary and illustrations. In the 'Prastāvaṇe' he deals more with the variant readings and tries to fix the correct ones as far as possible. His approach is basically that of a textual critic. He is aware of the fact that an edition of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, which is close to the original manuscript of Kēśirāja is imperative. In the preface, he has given a brief history of the other editions, the method he has used in the present edition and some of the sources of the illustrative verses etc. This edition satisfied the longfelt need. The second edition of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa by D. L. Narasimhachar was brought out in 1964 by the same publisher. In this edition, the commentary of Niṣṭūra Nanjayya, which was not included in the first edition is found. Certain mistakes that occurred in the first edition are corrected.

The popularity with Kannada scholars of D. L. Narasimhachar's Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa is evident from the fact that it went through the

third edition within the year of the publication of the second edition. The third edition underwent further revision in many places.

Sabdānuśāsana of Bhaṭṭakaṇka:

This is the fourth and last great work in the Kannada grammatical tradition. It is a monumental work on the Kannada language written in Sanskrit by Bhaṭṭakaṇka. Bhaṭṭakaṇka was a disciple of Akaṇkadeva. He lived during the reign of the Vijayangar king Venkatapati Raya (1586-1615).³⁷ His object was to produce an original treatise which should be a standard book of grammar. In his commentary on the invocatory verse, he uses the term 'Svōpajna Śabdānuśāsana'.

Śabdānuśāsana is divided into four sections or padas and contains 592 aphorisms. The author gives the aphorism in Sanskrit with the gloss called 'Bhāṣā Manjari' also in Sanskrit and written by himself. The author again has written a commentary called 'Manjari Makaranda' on his own gloss. The topics dealt in the various sections are: alphabets, technical terms, indeclinables, and particles; gender; words corrupted from Sanskrit and case suffixes; compounds, personal pronouns, number, numerals and derivatives; verbs and verbal affixes.

The work is copious and exhaustive. Not only it is more exhaustive and elaborate than all previous grammars but also more methodical.³⁸ B. L. Rice compares³⁹ Śabdānuśāsana to Panini's *Aṣṭadhyāyī* and his commentary 'Manjari Makaranda' to Patanjali's 'Mahābhāṣya'. The author's aim in writing this grammar was to bring the claims of the Kannada language to the notice of the learned and to promote its cultivation along with precision and elegance in the use of it.⁴⁰ In short, this work is very important for the study of the Kannada language and is an enduring monument to the author's erudition. With Keilhorn we can say, 'The author was evidently a profound grammarian'.

Comentaries on Śabdānuśāsana :

There is a commentary entitled 'Śabdānuśāsana Tatvālōka' by Varadarya.⁴¹ Varadarya was from Kankanhalli, son of Narasimharya, who was in the medical profession. The purpose of writing this commentary is very clearly stated. There is a great deal of contradiction between the aphorisms of Śabdānuśāsana and Bhaṭṭakaṇka's commentary. Varadarya specifically says that the author of the aphorisms is a

different person and Bhaṭṭakaṇka has written a gloss and commentary. But he has created the impression that the aphorisms also are his own (Sūtramadaṁ svakīyamenisa Bhaṭṭakaṇkābhidaṁ janakunmōhamanuṣṭu māḷpa). To eradicate this impression (adaṁ piṅgisalke), the commentary 'Tatvālōka' is written.

Editions :

The first edition of the *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana* was published by B. L. Rice in 1890 in Mysore. The edition contains a valuable introduction by Rice, in which he gives the history of grammatical literature in Kannada in detail and in Sanskrit in brief. The text was given in both Kannada and Roman characters. An English translation of the aphorisms is supplied. Short notes are added in English wherever necessary. In the introduction, Rice says, "I have now the satisfaction of leaving it as a legacy to the Kannada people, in the hope that it may prove an incentive to a more scholarly study of their pithy and expressive language." And we think it is a legacy indeed.

Rice's wish that his edition might prove an incentive to a more scholarly study is found in the revised edition of the same work by R. Narasimhachar, published by the Mysore Government Central Press in 1923. R. Narasimhachar has made some changes in his edition. He has used punctuation marks, the sources of the aphorisms are given in brackets and six valuable appendices are added at the end. The Roman characters used in the previous edition are omitted. However, the English translation of the aphorisms and notes in English are retained. Much of the material in introduction, being out of date, in the light of recent findings, has been omitted. In the six appendices added at the end, Narasimhachar gives, apart from the aphorisms quoted from the grammars of Panini, Śakaṭāyaṇa and others, quotations from the *Amoghavritti*, the *Mahābhāṣya* and other works. There is also a list of corresponding aphorisms from the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, *Kāvyaśāloka*, *Karṇāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣana* and quotations from many Kannada works.

In 'Śabdānuśāsana Prakāśikā' of Kundalagiriyaacharya, the author translated the aphorisms of Śabdānuśāsana and wrote an exhaustive commentary for the first 472 sūtras before he expired. The remaining part was completed by Katti Srinivasamurthacharya and was published by Karnataka Vidya Vardhaka Sangha, Dharwar in 1908. Again the 'Śabdānuśāsana Prakāśikā' of Kundalagiriyaacharya was edited by S. S. Basavanal and published by

Karnataka Vidya Vardhaka Sangha in 1941. The part that could not be completed by the Acharya was completed by M. P. Pujar. The Prakāsikā which is a translation of Bhattakaṭanka's Śabdānuśāsana, is something more than a translation. Kundalagiri-yacharya, who was a profound scholar both in Sanskrit and Kannada had specially studied grammar. In that work he used his knowledge of both the Sanskrit and Kannada grammatical tradition. The work is highly valuable in understanding Śabdānuśāsana. However, it is a fact that it is too technical not only for the average reader and sometimes even for scholars.

Another edition of Śabdānuśāsana along with the commentary in Kannada entitled 'Nalnuḍigannaḍi' was published by Rajakamal Prakasana, Bangalore. The editor was D. Padmanabha Sharma and the object was to make Śabdānuśāsana easier even for the students, hence the commentary was written.

The traditional climate was a restrictive one. A particular work or class of works was to be studied by a particular class of people. Knowledge was the property of a limited section of the society. Since time immemorial, this distinction was scrupulously maintained. Only a particular stratum of the society had the authority to study the products of our great heritage. Consequently the major section of the society was in dark about our treasure of knowledge. If others wanted to study it was considered to be a sin. This state of affairs continued unaffected until the arrival of Christian scholars, missionaries and others.

Knowledge need not be the property of a sect or a section of the society. Any work in any language is the product of the culture of the people. As a work is a representative of the entire culture, so it is the property of the entire people of that culture in particular, and in general of the whole world. With this clear vision and their dedication to knowledge from whatever corner of the world it came, Christian scholars started the study of Indian literature including Kannada. Max Muller's efforts in publishing the Vedas are wellknown. Everybody knows the significance of Max Muller's great 'sin'. There is an interesting story in connection with the printing of Dhavalā and Jayadhavalā⁴² – two great religious monuments of the Jains.

Christian scholars rendered yeoman service to the land they had come to. They changed the outlook of generation, opened our

eyes to the glory of our tradition and made that great tradition of ours available to us. As in other fields, in the field of grammar too, it was they who did the pioneering work. It was those scholars who edited, printed and published our grammars and it was those scholars who produced Kannada grammars on modern lines.

The second stage in the history of Kannada grammatical literature begins with Christian scholars. The traditional era, with its sūtras, vrittis, vyākhyānas etc., ends with Bhattakaṭanka's Śabdānuśāsana though a commentary in the traditional manner is found here and there. These traditional grammars were of high standard and could be studied only by the learned. They were not of any help to beginners in the Kannada language whether he was a native speaker or a foreign scholar.

The writing of a grammar useful for all was a characteristic of this stage. Simple grammars, simple rules in prose, common examples and explanations in simple language without recourse to much technicality were the salient features of those grammars.

At this stage, the grammars available to us can be classified as grammars by Christian writers and grammars by local authors. Christian authors wrote the grammars with a specific purpose, as their works were meant for English students learning Kannada. The native grammars were written for local speakers who knew the language already.

'The Grammar of the Kurnataka Language' the first grammar in Kannada language was produced by William Carey. It was printed at Serampur and was published in 1817. Not only it was the first grammar on modern lines but also the first book to be published in Kannada.⁴³

'Karnāṭaka Vyākaraṇa' by John Mckerrel was the second modern Kannada grammar. It was published from Fort St. George College, Madras, in 1820. The purpose of writing this grammar is made clear in the preface of the book: "In India, a knowledge of languages of the country is of the highest importance to public interests, for without that knowledge no public servant can discharge the duties of his office." That was the purpose of almost all the grammars written by Christian missionary authors. But indirectly, they served our causes too. Mckerrel wrote his grammar on the basis of Śabdamañidarpaṇa. He states in his preface: "In the course of my labours, I have derived

much information from a very scarce and accurate treatise “Shabda Mani Darpaṇa”.

‘An Elementary Grammar of the Kannada or Canarese Language’ by Thomas Hudson was printed at Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore, in 1859. This book is specifically written for the use of English people wishing to learn Kannada. Accordingly every word used in the examples is translated and the pronunciation is given in English characters. This book of over 350 pages treats alphabets, parts of speech, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs and articles in detail. A long list of irregular verbs covering seven pages is given, but many of them can be proved as regular. There are ten appendices, where formulation of grammatical terms, besides numbers, months, seasons, days, etc., are dealt. The book is therefore very informative and useful. This book underwent the second edition in 1864, wherein every line of the grammar has been correctly revised and many additions and improvements have been introduced.

‘A Practical Key to Canarese Language’ by Zeigler is a wellknown grammar which was first published in 1872. This grammar is again meant for English students wishing to learn Kannada. It deals exhaustively with all the topics of Kannada grammar. The scheme of the book is: explanation in English, examples in Kannada, their transliteration in English and the translation. One of the interesting features of the book is the omission of Sanskrit letters not necessary for Kannada. The treatment is simple, detailed and easy to understand.

There are three grammars by Kittel, in addition to his *magnum opus* the Kannada-English Dictionary. Of these three, two are in Kannada and one in English. They are: Kannada Vyākaraṇa Sūtragaḷu, Saṅkṣēpa Vyākaraṇa Sūtragaḷu and A Grammar of the Kannada Language.

‘Kannada Vyākaraṇa Sūtragaḷu’ written by Kittel was published by the Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository, Mangalore, in 1889. It is on the line of traditional grammars, mainly Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, both in the selection of material and distribution of chapters. It contains the rules in simple prose with examples from Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. Explanatory notes in English are given in the margin. ‘Saṅkṣēpa Vyākaraṇa Sūtragaḷu’ by Kittel is not available to us.

‘A Grammar of the Kannada Language’ by Kittel was also published by Basel Mission, Mangalore, in 1903. It is a grammar written in English based on Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. The book deals with Kannada grammar exhaustively. It contains twentyeight chapters covering 483 pages. The scheme of the treatment of these topics is similar to that found in Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. But various topics dealt with in Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa in one chapter, have been spread over many chapters in this book. Kannada words are written in both Kannada and English and the sentences are in Kannada with translation in English. The author relies for his statements on the sūtras of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. The book which is an outcome of an assiduous study of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa by Kittel is not only an important contribution to Kannada grammatical literature, but also has acquainted foreign scholars with Kannada grammar. Hulsch comments⁴⁴ on the book in the following manner: ‘Throughout the book, we feel the master-hand of a ripe scholar, whose deep erudition and love of his subject are blended with amiable modesty’. The grammar is readable and is a standard reference work to this day.

‘Tables of Canarese Language’ by B. Creater was published by the Basel Mission, Dharwar, in 1884. In the introduction to the book the author wrote, that the tables were first intended for the use of foreigners studying the Canarese language. Afterwards it was suggested that the same would be useful to Kannada scholars.

‘A Kanarese Grammar’ by Herold Spencer was printed at the Wesleyan press, Mysore, in 1914. This book was written with a specific purpose that it should be useful for the English students. As the author himself says, “it was an improvement on Thomas Hudson’s Elementary Grammar of the Kannada Language”. The only feature retained from Hudson’s book is the transliteration into English of all Kanarese words in both lessons and appendices. The book is divided into four chapters. In each chapter there are 31 lessons. In addition there are seven appendices. Common grammatical topics are treated in the lessons. In the seven appendices lists of nouns of relationship, numerals, irregular verbs, imitative words, calender, grammatical terms, etc., are given. The above topics are dealt with in a very exhaustive manner. The treatment of the topics is not cumbersome. In each page the examples are given in Kannada with a transliteration in English. The book is not only useful to English students but it is of help to Kannada students as well.

The second edition of this book was revised by W. Perston and published in 1950. When it was decided to make a revision, it was agreed to make it fairly thorough that it might reflect to some extent at least, the changes which have taken place in written and spoken Kanarese, as a result of a notable literary renaissance of the period since this grammar was written.⁴⁵ The special feature of Spencer's edition, viz., the graded exercises in translation is retained. A chapter on the forms of Kanarese correspondence has been added. Otherwise not much revision is found in this book.

Notable among the other earlier grammars written by Christian scholars are listed here.

Kannada Vyākaraṇa Sāraṁ - C. Campbell, 1849

Kannada Vyākaraṇa - T. Hudson, 1855

Kannada Śālā Vyākaraṇa - Zeigler, 1866

Kannada Bāla Vyākaraṇa - C. Koiz, 1868

Elements of Kanarese Grammar for the Natives

- Campbell, 1870

Kannada Bāla Vyākaraṇa - Zeigler, 1877

Śālā Vyākaraṇa - J. Garrett, 1865

Kannada Vyākaraṇa Saṅgraha, 1841

Kannada Bāla Vyākaraṇa, 1843

A Kannada Grammar - John Shamrao, 1854

Vyākaraṇa Sāra - Moben

Kannada Language (Russian) - Andronov, 1962

Kannada - Dr. William McCormack

The last is a cultural introduction to Kannada. The author gives here graded lessons for foreign learners of Kannada.

Christian scholars by their devotion to Kannada language did pioneering work. These works are modelled on the western grammatical tradition and scientific approach.⁴⁶ Most of the works were school grammars designed according to the syllabus. Zeigler's 'A Practical Key to the Kannada Language' and Kittel's 'A Grammar of the Kannada Language' are the only grammars which were not written according to the syllabus. These grammars provided the methodology for most of the grammars by local authors.

The first grammar on modern lines by Indian authors is that of S. Krishnamacharya known as 'Hosagannada Nudigannadi'. It was published in 1838 by the Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository Mangalore. The second edition of the same was published in 1882. Besides being the first native grammar, this book is important in the sense that it has followed altogether a new path in two respects which are that it has based its treatment on nonliterary form and its treatment is in the dialogue form. Till then the Sanskrit and Kannada of literary styles were the only forms respected by grammarians. A departure is to be seen in this book in the use of Kannada forms of colloquial nature. The conversational form of this book is an interesting feature. The book begins with questions and answers.

Q. Māteṣṭu vidhavāgīruvadu ?

A. Hosagannaḍa ventālū haḷagannaḍa ventālū eraḍu vidhavāgīruvadu.

Q. Hosagannaḍavu yāvadu ?

A. Karṇāṭaka dēśadalliya hiriyaru mātanāḍikoḷḷuva mātu.

Q. Haḷagannaḍavu yāvadu ?

A. Granthagaḷalli mātrave prayōgisalpaḍuva mātu.

Q. Iveraḍaralli munde tiḷiyabēkāda mātu yāvadu ?

A. Dēśadalli mātanāḍuva mātige lakṣaṇa tiḷiyade granthada mātige lakaṣana tiḷidu prayōjanavillavāddarinda naḍavaḍikeya mātāda hosagannaḍavu lakṣanavendu munde tiḷiyabēku.

Q. Ī hosagannada vyākaraṇaveṣṭu prakaraṇavu ?

A. Hattu prakaraṇavu.

In this way the book develops into ten chapters and his style of treatment of the subject in a novel way appears to have met with resistance from tradition minded scholars.⁴⁷ The book occupies a unique position in the grammatical literature of Kannada and it heralded the new era of grammars based on colloquial forms. In addition to this book, S. Krishnamacharya wrote 'Haḷagannaḍa Nudigannadi' which was also published in 1838.

Many books were produced during that period. Most of the books except a few were specifically written for use in schools. The main object of the authors was to write a grammar according to the syllabus laid down by the Education Department. For many of those grammars

the change in the syllabus was probably the main reason for their production. Many books vary in style not because of the different treatment of the subject but because of the different authors. Excepting the difference of authorship there is not much to differentiate among many of these books. But they did serve the immediate purpose for which they were written.

As there are many books on this subject as already stated, it is not possible to describe them in detail. A few important books are given individual attention and the others only listed.

One such grammar which deserves mention is 'Nuḍigaṭṭu' by Dondo Narasimha Mulabagal. This grammar was written for the use of secondary schools and training colleges which was first published in 1892. While writing, the author has referred Śabdānuśāsana and other ancient grammars. There are three parts in the grammar viz., akṣara vicāra, śabda vicāra and vākya vicāra. It is interesting to note that this division corresponds to the modern division in the description of a language, viz., phonology, morphology and syntax. Surprisingly the author has given the definition of language before referring to the usual grammatical topics. Besides, points of articulation etc., are given.

'Kannada Kaipidi' published by the Mysore University in 1927 is a reference work on the Kannada language and related topics in Kannada literature. The object of producing these volumes was to present the material that was available till then. However difficult and controversial topics are generally avoided. It contains five parts written by eminent scholars. There was no single book which could give information about all the branches of Kannada literature. A book that could deal with all the branches of the Kannada language and literature was a longfelt necessity. With that view the Mysore University planned the volume. Part I (Grammar of old Kannada) and Part IV (History of Kannada Language) are important for our purpose. Kannada Kaipidi, Part I which includes the grammar of old Kannada was assigned to T. Shrinivasaraghavacharya and B. Krishnappa.

Part I deals with Kannada grammar. The treatment throughout is on the model of old Kannada grammars. In most places, it is a paraphrase of those grammars. This fact need not affect the merit of this book which has become a valuable reference work in respect of old Kannada grammar.

Part IV deals with the history of the Kannada language. It was brought out in a separate volume. The authors responsible are B. M. Shrikantaiah and T. S. Venkannaiah, renowned scholars both in Kannada language and literature.

A detailed treatment of grammatical topics through various stages of Kannada is found in this book. The treatment is on modern lines which is quite clear. The book ably serves as a reference work for students of the Kannada language. Kannada Kaipidi was reprinted in 1936. There are certain revisions in this edition but not in Part I. The book was reprinted again in 1955.

'Kannada Madhyama Vyākaraṇa' by T. N. Shrikantaiah was published by the Department of Public Instruction in 1939. This grammar meant for middle schools was one of the three planned by the department. The other two are: 'Prāthamika Vyākaraṇa' by A.N. Narasimhaiah and 'High School Grammar' by T.S. Venkannaiah. The grammar projected by T. S. Venkannaiah was never written. Notable among the features of Mādhyama Vyākaraṇa are that there are no statements of suffix of the first case, omission of the fifth case and separation of compound verbs. There are 27 chapters in the book. The treatment is on modern lines. The author gives examples and then he frames rules and definitions. The book is exhaustive. It is an important work, as it has correctly grasped the structure of the language.

Some other grammars were very popular in those days. But it is not possible to deal with them in detail. However they are included in the following list. The method followed in arranging them is the chronological order of their publication.

- Hosagannaḍa Nuḍicandrike Vyākaraṇa – Shrinivas Kavish, 1870
- Śabda Bhāṣkara – U. Daksina Murthy Sastri, 1871
- Sanskrit-Kannada Śabda Utpatti – Patkar Panduranga, V.C., 1880
- Vyākaraṇa Saṅgraham – H. Honnappa, 1890
- Karṇāṭaka Vāgvidhāyini – M. Ramaswami Shastri, (7th ed.), 1890
- Karṇāṭaka Bhāṣā Viśayavu – T. G. Krishnacharya, 1891
- Vācaka Bōdhini – M. B. Srinivasayyengar, 1894
- Nānārtha Śabdāvaḷi Mattu Saṅjārthagalu –
B. Ramakrishnayya, 1895
- Kannada Śiśubodha Varṇamāle – H. S. Kulkarni, 1896

- Karṇāṭaka Vyākaraṇa – Y. Ramakrishnayya, 1897
 Vyākaraṇa Saṅgraha – Puttaparthi Sheshacharya (3rd edn.), 1897
 Karnataka Śabdasāra – Kavyamanjari, Mysore, 1897
 A Modern Kanarese Grammar–A. S. Mud Bhat, 1899
 Karnataka Bhāṣā Samīkaranōpaṇyāsa – T. G. Krishnacharya, 1899
 Kannada Bhāṣeya Vichāragaḷu – B. M. Shrikanthaiah, 1915
 Karnataka Bāla Vyākaraṇa – K. R. Narasimhaiah, 1915
 Vyākaraṇada mādariya Pāṭhagaḷu – V. M. Talikoti, 1916
 Bāla Vyākaraṇa – Govinda Krishna Kaliwal, 1917
 Śabdasāra – B. Mallappa, 1918
 Vyākaraṇa Sāra – K. R. Narasimhaiah, 1918
 Kannada Lēkhana Lakṣaṇa – M. S. Puttanna, 1922
 Kannada Vyākaraṇa – B. Ramakrishnayya, 1923
 Vākyabhāga Bodhini – Parshuram Satawaji Suryavamsi, 1923
 Kannada Laghu Vyākaraṇa – Venkata Rango Katti, 1927
 Kannada Nudigannadi Mattu Chandomanjari – M. P. Pujar, 1928
 Balavyākaraṇa – M. S. Kesari, 1929
 Nudigannadi, Part I, II, III & IV (ed.) M. P. Pujar, 1932
 Vakyavibhajane – Keshav Sharma Galgali, 1933
 Kannada Nudiemba Sanksipta Vyākaraṇavu–K. R. Ganachar, 1933
 Kannada Guru Vyākaraṇa – K. R. Ganachar, 1933
 Kannada Laghu Vyākaraṇa – S. I. Sivaramayya, 1933
 Kannada Proudha Vyākaraṇa – S. I. Sivaramayya, 1935
 Vyākaraṇa Chintāmaṇi (in three parts) H. Shesh Ayyangar, 1935
 Tiḷigannada Vyākaraṇa–R. N. Suryavamsi & K. Ahobala Shastri, 1935
 Kannada Mūla Vyākaraṇa – P. Mangeshrao (6th ed.), 1936
 Kannada Kannadi – T. S. Raghavacharya, 1936
 Kannada Vyākaraṇa mattu Lēkhana – S. V. Kamat, 1936
 Hand Book of Tatsamas and Tadbhavas – N. V. Kulkarni, 1939
 Kannada Bhāṣābhyaṣa – N. C. Padaki, 1939
 Nudigaṭṭu – D. N. Mulabagal (Rev. edn.), 1947
 Sacitra Navīna Vyākaraṇa Pāṭhagaḷu – B. Chikkannaiah, 1947
 Kannada Nudigannadi – S. Hanumanthappa, 1947
 Vyākaraṇa Sāra – Tiru Srinivasacharya, 1947

- Bhāṣeya Beḷavaṇigeyalli Kelavu Swarasyavāda Amśagaḷu, 1949
 Kannada Cennudi–pictorial grammar, (4 parts) S. S. Basavanal and Kavali (5th ed. 1954), 1950
 Kannada Vyākaraṇa Vividha Sāhitya (3 parts) Kavali, 1950
 Sulabha Vyākaraṇa–Ramachandra Ucchil & Guddappa Ail, 1951
 Mātina Munnade– M. Malakai, S. M. Munshal & Kavali, 1951
 Kannada Kāipidi–D. N. Mulbagal, 1951
 Proudha Sālā Vyākaraṇa mattu Chandolankāra Sāra (3 parts) K. Kanta Rai, 1954
 Nūtana Bāla Vyākaraṇa–U. Mangeshrao
 Nadugannada–Manvi Narasingrao, 1956
 Kannada Vacana Kaumadi–M. S. Ramakrishnayya
 Bhāṣānidhi–Sampangiram Bharathi (ed.)
 Bhāṣā Viṣaya–G. B. Joshi
 Laghu Sidhanta Kaumudi (Kannada exposition of Panini) G. Vishnumurthy Bhat (ed.), 1964

The grammars listed so far deal with Kannada language directly. Moreover they deal predominantly with only one stage of the Kannada language. These grammars can be distinguished from other grammatical works which deal with the Kannada language from the comparative historical point of view. Hence, by the very nature, they deal with the historical growth of the Kannada language and the relation of Kannada to the other Dravidian languages.

PHILOLOGICAL APPROACH

When the grammars with a slightly modern outlook here and there were being produced on traditional lines, there was another stream which ran almost parallel. It was the production of philological literature, where the comparison of Kannada with the sister languages was being carried out. It was at this stage that a monumental work on Dravidian languages viz., 'Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages' was written by Caldwell.

One of the early works in this field by an Indian scholar is 'Karnataka Bhāsa Vyākaranōpaṇyāsa Manjari' by R. Raghunatha Rao printed at the Caxton Press, Bangalore, in 1894. This small book running to 118 pages is very interesting. It treats Kannada language from the comparative and historical point of view. The topics dealt with are: Dravidian languages and Kannada, Kannada not

related to Sanskrit, several stages in the Kannada language, etc. Besides there is a strong criticism of scholars who hold that colloquial forms should be made use of in writing grammars. The author criticises in very strong terms the work, 'Hosagannaḍa Vyākaraṇa' by S. Krishnamacharya.⁴⁸

The most methodical and exhaustive work is Caldwell's 'A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages' published in 1856, but this does not deal directly with the Kannada language. This grammar is a monumental work which occupies an important position in the history of Dravidian studies. Caldwell who was well versed in modern philology had studied the languages of the Dravidian family, Tamil in particular. The book is considered as a classic in Indian Philology. The chief object of the author was to promote a more systematic and scientific study of the Dravidian languages by means of a careful comparison of their grammar. It is the first work on Dravidian languages written in conformity with the modern principles of comparative philology. It is also the first work to establish systematically the independence of the Dravidian family from Sanskrit. Hence it is rightly called 'The Bible of Dravidian Studies.'

The monumental work which runs over 640 pages covers a wide range of topics like, the use of the term Dravidian, enumeration of Dravidian languages, Dravidian languages independent of Sanskrit, affinity of Dravidian family to other families, pre-Aryan civilization of Dravidians etc., followed by the comparative grammar section which describes the Dravidian languages on all levels. The treatment of topics is in detail and exhaustive. It included every information then available.

However some of Caldwell's theories particularly the theory of affinity of the Dravidian with the Scythian family are not accepted by modern scholars; and in the light of further available material some of his chapters need much modification, yet, though there has been great advancement in linguistics, the value of his work cannot be undermined. Though of late much work has been done it has not been possible to supersede Caldwell's work. Even today more than a century after its publication, it remains as an outstanding work. Caldwell published the revised second edition in 1875. The third revised edition of Caldwell's grammar was published in 1913 which was revised by J. L. Wyatt and T. Ramakrishna Pillai. The reprint of the third edition was brought out in 1961 by Madras University.

The next important work of this period is 'The Grammatical Structure of the Dravidian Languages' by Jules Bloch. Jules Bloch wrote in French the 'Structure grammaticales des langues dravidiennes' which was published in 1946. It was translated by R. G. Harshe into English and published in 1954 from Poona. About Jules Bloch's work F. B. J. Kuiper says⁴⁹ "All those who are interested in Dravidian Linguistics welcome this study which summarises the conclusions at which the eminent French savant, after a life devoted to the study of Indian languages, has arrived regarding some of the fundamental problems of Dravidian. The object of this work is to furnish a more complete picture of the morphological facts and to give more prominence to these languages than Caldwell had been able to do who had to base his book mainly on Tamil." Regarding translation we cannot say more than quoting S. M. Katre, "He was trained in Paris among others by professor Bloch, and the rendering has, therefore a ring of authority which has been attested by the original author himself."

'Kannaḍa Bhāṣa Śāstra,' by R. Y. Dharwadkar is yet another book in this field, which was first published in 1951. This book is useful from the point of view of the material it contains. Whenever the author takes up certain issue for discussion he quotes in detail the view of different scholars in the field. It also contains many examples. 'A great deal of useful material is collected and presented in a systematic manner.'⁵⁰ The sincerity of the author is evident throughout the book. The book has undergone four editions, the last edition being published in 1968.

The first introduction to comparative philology in Kannada is by R. V. Jahagirdar. His book 'Śhāradeya Samsāra' was published by Navajivana Granthamala, Dharwar in 1933. The general editor Alur Venkatarao in his foreword has stated the criteria to be followed in such a book. They are: the book must be written about a serious topic, the exposition has to be scientific and the style must be simple. These must be achieved within a span of 100 pages. How to achieve this especially in the case of technical subjects like comparative philology? As the author himself says, "it was Śhārada's world to laymen and science of language to scholars." The heading of the topics are almost like those in a novel like 'Śhāradeya Śringāra', 'Vivāhamahōtsava', 'Śhāradeya Samsāra', etc. The book contains eleven chapters and appendix. It deals with the nature of language, science of language, change in language, origin of language etc. In the appendix is given the history of the study and growth of the science of language both in

ancient and modern times. The treatment of the subject is simple and can be understood by everyone. However it must be admitted that, in the course of its simplification, it has lost many of the scientific features.

In 1934, 'The History of Kannada Language' by R. Narasimhachar was published. R. Narasimhachar gave five lectures in the Readership Lectures Series in English, in Mysore and Bangalore, in 1926 and 1927, and the same was published by Mysore University. This book confirms his erudition which is testified by his other works 'History of Kannada Literature', 'Kavicharite' etc. The book is divided into five chapters. The topics dealt with are: Dravidian languages, place of Kannada among these languages, structure of Kannada, Kannada grammar, borrowings, various stages of Kannada and process of language change. The treatment is exhaustive and scholarly and the wealth of illustrations is amazing. It deserves study and is much useful to the students of the Kannada language. It was reprinted by Mysore University in 1969.

'Kannada Bhāṣeya Charitre' by P.G. Kulkarni is another book in this direction which was published in 1967. The author who had his training in grammar in the traditional way had supplemented it further by self-study. The book is the outcome of his nearly forty years of teaching experience and study. The book extending over 500 pages, contains a great deal of information about Kannada grammar. It contains 26 chapters dealing with topics like: existence of Kannada, Kannada and Sanskrit, stages of Kannada, the alphabet based on principles of philology etc. Though the treatment appears to be traditional, one cannot miss the modern outlook and application of modern advanced knowledge of languages. In such a voluminous work, there is bound to be room for difference of opinion about many facts. The work is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the Kannada language.

A recent addition to this stock of literature is Varadaraj R. Umarji's 'The Kannada Language, its Origin and Development'. It was published by the Karnataka Historical Research Society, Dharwar, in 1969. The book has a lofty aim. "My attempt in this treatise" says the author, "forms the part and parcel of that same movement of reorientation and renaissance in Indian art and literature". For this purpose the author, as he says, has struck a new and original note in the field of Indian linguistic studies. The book deals with the history of the Kannada language from a comparative

point of view. This he treats at all levels of the language. Umarji is a scholar in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Kannada no doubt. We were expecting something good from his pen. The book disappoints us since the author instead of describing the origin and development of Kannada has tried to prove that Kannada has sprouted from Sanskrit. The quotation following the title of the book viz., 'vācārambhaṇo vikāro nāmadhāyaṁ mrittikēttēva satyam' betrays his intentions. True to this purpose he has laboured to derive Kannada pronouns, numerals, parts of the body etc., from Sanskrit which is nothing but his fancy. In the course of his attempt to wrest the Kannada language from western scholars, he has thrown it into the Sanskrit ocean. This book indicates that the era of extremist traditionalism has not yet ended.

'Sankṣipta Kannaḍa Bhāṣeya Charitre' by D. N. Shankar Bhatt is one more book in the field. It treats in a short compass the history of the Kannada language on modern lines. This brief work which has trodden new grounds is a useful book. It would have been better if Bhat had written a comprehensive history of the Kannada language.

In addition to the grammars and histories of language of this period there are other works which describe various important grammatical concepts. These are important because these concepts of grammar are given individual attention.

'Kelavu Kannada Vyākaraṇa Vicāragaḷu' by M. P. Pujar is one such book. It was published in 1952 by the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. The author was an erudite scholar in Kannada language and literature. This book is one of the brilliant products of the traditional learning in both Sanskrit and Kannada. Among the several topics dealt with in this book are: Kannada phonetics, phonology, Gamaka Samasa, active and passive voice in Kannada, etc. Pujar has given here a precise treatment of some of the sūtras of Keśirāja, with a comparative study of Śābdānuśāsana of Bhaṭṭakāḷanka.

'Kannada Varṇagaḷu' by Sediyaḷu Krishnabhadda is a book dealing only with the alphabet. This book is a compilation of lectures delivered by the author and was published by the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar in 1955. Sediyaḷu has in his brochure dealt with the Kannada alphabet. Here is an attempt to describe the Kannada alphabet against the background of Dravidian pronunciation. An interesting feature of the book is that it has made use of both colloquial and literary forms. It has also used forms from the sister

languages, like Tamil, Malayalam and Tulu for comparison. It is a useful work for students of the Kannada language. The topics dealt with are : vowels where the pronunciation of 'ai' and 'au' are treated and consonants where ideas on *p-h* and *s* are found. In the appendix are given conjectures on the origin of ṛaḷa, kuḷa, kṣaḷa etc.

LINGUISTIC APPROACH

Let us consider the works applying modern linguistic methods. This approach may include comparative and historical studies as well as descriptive works. There may be either thorough treatment of the language or the treatment of particular topic related to it.

Let us know to begin with the works on inscriptions. The value of inscriptions in linguistic study attracted the attention of scholars quite late. The most notable attempts are A. N. Narasimhaiah's 'A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese inscriptions' and G. S. Gai's 'Historical Grammar of Old Kannada'.

'A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese inscriptions' was published by the University of Mysore in 1941. It is the first of its kind on Kannada inscriptions in the entire Dravidian field. This book is an attempt to present the grammar of the oldest Kannada on the basis of linguistic material available in inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries. It has three parts : phonology, grammar and text of the inscriptions and various appendices.

The grammar part is very much valuable for the student of the Kannada language. Here in is the treatment of consonants and grammar on the basis of the actual forms found in the inscriptions. So, for every aspect dealt with, valuable inscriptional evidence is furnished. The treatment is scientific and based on principles of linguistics. It is a valuable reference work regarding the earliest stage of the Kannada language.

G. S. Gai continued the work of inscriptional studies. He studied the inscriptions of the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries and that is the phase next to the one studied by Narasimhaiah. The subject is studied on two levels : phonology and morphology. In the appendices part the text of the inscriptions is given. In the phonology part the consonants are treated. In the morphology section the book deals with gender, number, declension, pronouns, numerals, derivatives nouns, verbs etc.

In this book too, the treatment is in detail. It deals with native and borrowed words separately. The work in addition to that of Narasimhaiah, makes a valuable reference work for the students of the Kannada language.

The works that will be surveyed in the field of linguistic studies henceforth cannot be included in any particular group, since each one is different in nature. Therefore they are treated individually wherever possible. However they are grouped according to certain principles.

'Some Problems in Kannada Linguistics' by C. R. Sankaran is an attempt to probe into the problems of the Kannada language. Sankaran delivered lectures on the problems in Kannada linguistics under the auspices of the Kannada Research Institute in 1941 and the book was published in 1954.

C. R. Sankaran is an authority on experimental phonetics. The subject dealt with in this book is of technical nature. The author has handled it with the characteristic skill of a research scholar. In the first chapter he has discussed the problems of Kannada phonology and morphology in the light of modern science. In the second chapter topics like Kannada semantics, syntax, *dēśi* etc., are clearly treated. In the last chapter he deals with the problems of ethnopsychology and dynamic philology as applied to Kannada.

A scientific approach, painstaking and conscientious study are evident throughout the book. The usefulness of the work lies not only in the conclusions the author has arrived at, but also in the hints he has thrown for other research workers in the field.

The controversy whether colloquial forms are worth studying is an old issue. Since the days of Kēśirāja, this controversy has been evident. They were not considered as grammatical forms. S. Krishnamacharya's 'Hosagannada Nudigannadi' however makes use of colloquial forms. This trend of using colloquial forms grew so much that a grammar purely meant for colloquial forms was written by William Bright. His book is 'An Outline of Colloquial Kannada' published by Deccan College, Poona in 1958. This work is offered as a first approximation to a grammar of the spoken language. The colloquial forms elicited from the informants are analysed in detail on phonological, morphological, morphophonemic and syntactic levels. On a narrow canvas the book has clearly analysed colloquial Kannada.

Another book in this field using the spoken forms is 'The Structure of Kannada' by R. C. Hiremath. R. C. Hiremath is a renowned scholar in Kannada linguistics and literature, trained in Indian and Western techniques of linguistics. The work is a special research problem undertaken during his stay in the University of California, Berkeley. He has treated the structure of the Kannada language on a descriptive level. An interesting feature of the book is that it bases its description entirely on colloquial forms. Analysis of the topics, in detail, of colloquial forms collected for illustration, and attempt to build a system out of the apparent disorder of colloquial forms are some of the salient features of this book. It is a pioneering work not only in Kannada linguistics but even in Indian linguistics. As H. S. Biligiri puts it, " 'The Structure of Kannada' is the first descriptive grammar in India written by an Indian scholar".

A Doctoral thesis submitted to the Karnatak University entitled 'The Mysore and Dharwar Kannada Dialects—A Comparative Linguistic Study' by M. R. Ranganath is another such study, entirely devoted to spoken forms on the dialect level. The author in this thesis describes from the comparative point of view, the Mysore and Dharwar dialects and compares them on the phonological, morphophonemic, morphological and syntactic levels.

A work which refers to both the literary and colloquial forms from the comparative point of view is the one written by H. M. Nayak. The title of the book is 'Kannada, Literary and Colloquial'. It is a Doctoral thesis submitted to the Indiana University, published by Rao and Raghavan in 1967.

Dr. Nayak has attempted to study the two styles of Kannada, literary and colloquial, comparatively. In the first chapter, the introduction, he has produced evidence for the existence of diglossia in early Kannada literature. In the second chapter he compares the two styles on the phonological level and in the third the same is done on the morphological level and he gives exhaustive rules for both styles. In the fourth chapter there is a lexical comparison of both styles. The work is an useful addition to Kannada linguistic literature. The author's intention to be exhaustive, precise and thorough is evident throughout the book. This book being the scientific study of two styles can be considered as the herald of similar studies.

Vacana literature which belongs to Middle Kannada period forms an important part of Kannada literature. As in other fields the

Saranas revolutionised the language. Though there is a grammar of Medieval Kannada (Nadugannada) by Manvi Narasingarao there was no grammar describing the vacana literature exclusively. This lacuna is filled by B. B. Rajapurohit's Doctoral thesis entitled 'A Descriptive Grammar of Vacana Literature'. The analysis is based on modern linguistic principles. The thesis contains four chapters, viz., introduction, phonemics, morphology and syntax. The treatment is adequate. It is an useful addition to the stock of literature in Kannada language.

There follows a category of works noted for the theoretical treatment. These books describe the various concepts, processes etc., operating in the language. This kind of literature in Kannada is a great necessity. To cope with this necessity, it was necessary that such books should be written in Kannada also. In order to cater to such need many books had to be written in Kannada.

The first book in that direction was 'Bhāṣā Vijnānada Mūlatatva-gaṇu' by M. Chidananda Murthy, published in 1965. It has 13 chapters. As the author himself has admitted, the emphasis is on historical linguistics. The exposition of descriptive linguistics is also found to some extent. Chidananda Murthy's presentation of the subject is quite technical and simple. The purpose of the author is, as he says, simplicity of expression: 'The book is written for the sake of the students who want to know about linguistics for the first time'. The treatment of the subject is clear and without any ambiguity.

'Drāvida Bhāṣā Vijnāna' by Hampa Nagarajayya published in 1966 is a comparative study of Dravidian languages. The book extending over 463 pages deals with Dravidian linguistics. Much work has been done in Dravidian linguistics in the course of hundred years mostly by Western scholars but such book incorporating all the results in Kannada is a welcome addition. This book in 48 chapters with an appendix has gathered exhaustive information by way of theories, views and other means. Much material is found about Dravidian languages. But when it comes to the analysis of the concepts, processes etc., it does not do full justice to the subject. The analysis is at times inadequate, at times inaccurate. Some statements are careless, while some others are casual. This affects the book as a scientific study. Though the dedication of the author is commendable, it would have been better had he been more careful and more diligent.

'Ādhunika Bhāsā Vijnāna', by the author of the present book gives briefly the nature of modern linguistics. It was published by the Karnatak University in 1967. It contains the definition of language, ancient and modern views on language, phoneme, morpheme, syntax etc., in simple language and should be useful to laymen.

'Kannada Bhāṣeya Swarūpa' by K. M. Krishnarao, published in 1968 deals with the nature of the Kannada language. There are ten chapters, dealing with language and linguistics, origin of Kannada, phonemic system, variations in language, etc. The treatment of topics is laboured throughout, as the author wants to present as much material as possible. However while giving examples he is not successful. Besides he has too much unnecessary, journalistic type of information to give. Because of this and other reasons, the book is loose and imprecise.

'Bhāsā Vijnāna', by Hampa Nagarajayya is yet another book on linguistics published in 1968. It runs to 349 pages, has 25 chapters and 5 appendices. It contains most of the topics on linguistics, both historical and descriptive. The characteristic feature of the book is the fund of material the author has collected, but neither brevity nor clarity is found in the book. One would expect in such a voluminous book, the treatment of phonemes etc. Though there is a chapter on morphemes the fundamental theory part is next to nothing.

There is a collection of popular articles on language and language learning by D. N. Shankar Bhat, entitled 'Bhāṣeya Bagege Nīvēnu Balliri' published in 1970. The articles in this collection may be divided into three categories: nature of language, defects in the procedures of learning and teaching language, and miscellaneous. The book though written for laymen, is useful to scholars also.

'Varṇanātmaka Vyākaraṇa', a collection of special lectures delivered at Bangalore University by H. S. Biligiri in 1969 was published in 1970. The first lecture deals with language and descriptive grammar; the second with phonemes, morphemes and the word and the last with syntax. It is an assumption of scholars that the grammar is a very technical subject and the linguistics even more. But, here the subject is treated in a nontechnical, direct and convincing manner. The book reads like a long story, simple yet comprehensive, and all aspects of the Kannada language are described from the point of view of modern linguistics.

A very recent work published in this field is 'Kannada Samāsagaḷu' by Tekkunjē Gopalakrishana Bhat, published by D. V. K. Murthy, Mysore in 1970. It has three chapters; technical terms, compounds and compounding process. The subject is treated clearly.

K. G. Sastri's 'A Havyaka Dialect of North Kanara' published by Karnatak University in 1971 deals intensively with all the features of Havyaka Dialect.

'Varṇanātmaka Bhāsā Vijnāna' by the present author, extending over 200 pages deals with the descriptive aspect of language in a detailed manner. Written in the technical manner, it has introduced new technical terms. The revised edition is published in 1976.

'Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa Viḷāsa' by V. Shivananda is another work in this line published in 1972 which is a prose commentary to Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. He explains the sūtras and concepts in the light of modern linguistics and it is a useful book for the students.

'Āitiḥāsika Bhāṣāvijnāna' by the present author is yet another book published by Sirigannada Prakashana, Dharwar in 1973. It deals with historical linguistics in a technical manner and has introduced new technical terms relating to the subject.

'Bhāṣāvijnāna Kōsha' by Kempegowda is published by Mysore University in 1976 which is exhaustive in compilation. Distinct influence of Hindi on Kannada terminology can be noticed throughout the book.

'Kannada Bhāṣeya Rooparāṣegaḷu' by William Madtha is published by the Karnatak University, Dharwar in 1975. A bare outline of all the grammatical concepts of Kannada language, it deals with the subject from linguistic point of view.

There are again descriptive studies of various dialects of Kannada. The study was sponsored by Deccan College, Poona and published in the Monographs on Linguistics Survey of India Series, which form valuable resource material and include the following :

- Nanjanagud Kannada (Vakkaliga dialect) – U. P. Upadhyaya
- Gulbarga Kannada (Brahmin dialect) – R. Mahadevan
- Tiptur Kannada (Lingayat dialect) – A. S. Acharya
- Havyaka Kannada (South Kanara) – D. N. S. Bhat

Coorg Kannada (Jenu Kuraba dialect) – U. P. Upadhyaya
 Halakki Kannada (Halakki Vakkals) – A. S. Acharya
 Barkur Kannada (Shivalli Vakkals) – A. S. Acharya

The above survey of works about the Kannada language shows that though it is not much, it is not meagre either. In grammatical literature, from the beginning to 1950 there is not much variety. Except a few notable attempts, most of the works are mediocre. In the past two decades, there has been an increase, in the grammatical field, but in the new phase of increased production, at least some of the books are inspired by the market. The only argument for publication of some of these books is that they inspire the writing of good books.

So far, we have surveyed the books in the grammatical field. In addition there are articles on different topics. Some of these articles are very important, because in each of them a topic has been discussed in its entirety. Here in, a list of some of the important articles is given :

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Kṣaṣa-kuṣa niyama – N. Timmanna Bhat, 45-4
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 Saptami vibhakti – M. M. Bhat, 29-1
 Kannaḍakke Tamiḷina eravalu mattu prabhāva –
 L. Gundappa, 40-4
 Kṣaṣa sūtra – Mallinatha Kalburgi, 46-4
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 Dhvaniśāstrada svarūpa – B. Veerabhadrapa, 44-3
 Dhvani, 29-1
 Pancami vibhakti – M. M. Bhat, 26-2
 Anyadēśīya śabdakoṣa, 46-2
 Kṣaṣasūtra, 46-3
 Dhvanivarṇa-lipi, 47-4

Kannaḍadalli vartamaṇa kriye – K. K. Gowda, 50-2
 Prācīna haḷagannaḍadalli lingavyavasthe, 24-3
 Darpaṇāvalōkana – K. K. Gouda, 43-3
 Greekanātakadalli Kannaḍa mātu – M. Govindapai, 9-1
 Greekaprahasanadalli Kannaḍa mātugaḷu, 11-1
 Bhāṣa samasye, 25

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Uḷ-oḷagu – T. N. Srikanthayya, 1959
 Kannaḍadalli Phārsi mātugaḷu, 1946
 Haḷagannaḍa hosagaannaḍa aitihāsika vivecane –
 Kapatral Krishnarao, 1957
 Kannaḍadalli Phārsi mattu Urdu śabdagaḷu –
 D. K. Bhimsenrao, 1939
 gaḷa, kuḷa, kṣaḷa, vicāram – S. S. Malwad, 1941
 Pūrvada haḷagannaḍa mattu Tamilu, 27-1
 Tamilu-Kannada sāhacaryagaḷu – P. B. Desai, 27-1
 Karnataka śikṣā – Devudu Narasimhasastri, 17-1, 3
 Sandhikārya vicāra – R. Raghunatharao, 2-1
 Ajnāta tadbhavagaḷu, 2-1
 Karnāṭaka varṇamāleya cāritrādi vicāra, 11-3
 Kannaḍada tatsama – tadbhavagaḷu – K. Shankar Bhat, 44-2
 Kannadadoḷagaṇa dēśya amśagaḷu – M. M. Bhat, 27-2
 Karnataka bhāṣa caritreyā heggurutugaḷu – R. Raghunatharao,
 2-4
 Kannaḍadalli mahāprāṇagaḷu – M. M. Bhat, 28-2
 Kēśirājana eraḍu sūtragaḷu – R. S. Panchamukhi, 27-1
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 V. Rama Sharma, 26-1
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 Kannaḍadalli śadagaḷa sādhitva, 6
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 Kannaḍa bhāṣege akkaragaḷenitu? - Kabbigaray, Tumkur, 7-2
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 English śabdagaḷige Kannada prati śabdagaḷu, -5

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- Gamaka samāsa, 28-4
 Kannada bindu - phoneme, 31-12
 Śuddhākṣaram, 31-10
 Kavirājamārgadalli kāraka vicāra, 28-2
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APPENDIX II

CHARACTERISTICS OF KANNADA LANGUAGE

Kēśirāja closes his *Sabdamāṇidarpaṇa* by a verse incorporating the characteristics of the Kannada language.

“Kannada is distinguished by Gamaka Samāsa, ḷ, ḷ and ḷ (kṣaḷa), Sandhi pleasing to ears, appropriate use of Satisaptami, Sanskrit ‘linga’ devoid of indeclinable, Samasamskrita expressions, v – m and h – p distinction, Sithiladitwa and Yativilanghana”. These are the features, according to Kēśirāja that distinguish Kannada from other languages. Here Kēśirāja’s intention is very clear: he compares Kannada with Sanskrit and he has not made any comparative study with other Dravidian languages. However, an attempt will be made here to compare these features as found in other Dravidian languages. All the features listed here are grammatical features except one which relates to prosody viz., yativilanghana. The list is fairly exhaustive, yet does not exhaust all the features. Hence, after treating the topics listed by Kēśirāja, the new ones which exhaust the possibilities are added.

Gamaka Samāsa :

The nature of Gamaka Samāsa and its unique existence is already brought out in detail. Gamaka Samāsa is Kēśirāja’s innovation. Neither earlier nor later grammarians have mentioned it. Further it is not found either in any other Dravidian language or in Sanskrit. Besides there is much debate on the existence of *Gamaka Samāsa* in Kannada itself.

Kēśirāja had realised that in the existing varieties of Samāsa which are borrowed from Sanskrit, some of the Kannada examples like ‘pasiya baṇṇam’, ‘āva nāyakam’, ‘mūvattaru’, ‘paḍuva tumbi’

do not fit in. Therefore, there is a case for a separate category. The above examples cannot be classified as samāsa according to the definition of samāsa, wherein the case suffix of the first component of the construction drops out while compounding. They are the familiar examples without any loss of case suffix. Therefore, they are specially treated as clear samāsas. Accordingly the name is given. The meaning of the term 'Gamaka' is clear, explicit and intelligible. This was the background for the introduction of Gamaka Samāsa.

Another reason for the introduction of Gamaka Samāsa is the 'Arisamāsa'. Our grammarians prohibited the Samāsas that formed by the union of the Sanskrit and Kannada words. When such samāsa was coined, it was considered faulty, and that was arisamāsa dōṣa. However, examples having Kannada and Sanskrit words coined and used by the reputed authors of yore are not considered as 'arisamāsa' but they are honoured and used. Interestingly, there are many examples, which are ordinarily considered arisamāsa, that were added from time to time. It was this restriction that blocked the road of development of Kannada language to some extent. To pave the way for the free flow of such words, which will be conducive to the growth of Kannada language, the new variety of Samāsa called Gamaka Samāsa was introduced by Kēśirāja wherein there is no arisamāsa fault. Because of these reasons Gamaka Samāsa tops the list of the factors distinguishing Kannada.

॥, ॥ and ॥ (kṣala) :

॥ may distinguish Kannada from Sanskrit, but it is a common sound in Dravidian languages like Tamil and Telugu. But in modern times, excluding Tamil no other Dravidian language has retained ॥ which had separate existence in old Kannada had begun to merge with ॥ by medieval stage, and is completely lost to modern Kannada. ॥ is a common sound in all the Dravidian languages, but not found in Sanskrit. Of course, there are scholars who have attempted to establish ॥ in Sanskrit which is rather controversial, kṣaṇa (॥) is a functional nomenclature which is in reality ॥ itself but stands in place of Sanskrit ॥ for the sake of rhyme. Obviously it is a special feature found in Kannada only.

Sandhi pleasing to ears :

Sandhi where two words come together, should be pleasing to hear and should not lead to unwanted meaning, are the main conditions laid down by our grammarians. The words so joined should not affect the

current usage. If it goes against the current usage leading to obscene meaning it has to be avoided. Also, if sandhi leads to the occurrence of more than two consonants in succession, it has to be avoided. These restrictions are found only in Kannada. There is no such rule in Sanskrit. Neither Tamil nor Telugu has any such rule.

Appropriate use of Satisaptami :

The idea of Satisaptami is borrowed from Sanskrit, but the nature of it is different in Kannada from that of Sanskrit. In Sanskrit, both noun and verb in the first phrase are in locative case and the action of the first phrase is subordinate to that in the second phrase; and in Kannada also there are two subjects and two phrases, the noun is not in locative case, but the action in the first phrase is subordinate to the second. Whereas, the title satisaptami is appropriate in Sanskrit, in Kannada it is not so. To accept its suitability we have to agree that the words like 'pāṇe' (when sung), are in locative case. Any way, it is different from Sanskrit.

Sama Saṁskṛita :

If Sanskrit noun roots other than numerals and indeclinables are the same as, or slightly modified to suit the Kannada words, they are called Sama Saṁskṛita (Sanskrit equals). This modification is rather minor. Words like 'Rāma, dēsha, kōsha, dashama, pashu, ravi' do not change. The words like 'bhāṣe, bāle, diva, mana' slightly get changed. If the Sanskrit words change more they are called 'Tadbhava'. It is clear that this is one of the devices to borrow Sanskrit words to enrich Kannada language. Though Sanskrit and Kannada words should not be combined to form Samāsa, the Sama Saṁskṛita word can be combined. This is a peculiar feature in the light of the restriction in the joining of Sanskrit and Kannada words. In Telugu such a restriction is not there and in Tamil there is no statement either for or against it.

v - m and h - p distinction :

First of all, it is not the distinction but the change that is intended to be stated. Secondly, it is the 'm → v' and 'p → h' change. 'v-m' is used because of prāsa requirement. It is a Dravidian feature that between two vowels, 'm' changes to 'v', examples: 'tāmāre - tāvare, bēmar - bevar'. Such a change is not observed either in Telugu or in

Tamil. Therefore, it is a special feature in Kannada. 'p' changes to 'h' in Kannada. Such a change began quite early in Kannada, examples: 'pōpange – hōhange, ballapange – ballahage'. It is now widespread. examples: 'puli – huli, palage – halage, pāḍu – hāḍu, paṇe – haṇe'. It is really interesting that of all the Dravidian languages, only Kannada could develop such a change. In Telugu, words with 'h' are very rare. If there are a few words in Telugu, they are borrowed from Kannada. In Tamil, there is no such borrowing but between two vowels 'h' is pronounced. Therefore, it is again a special feature in Kannada.

Sanskrit root devoid of indeclinables :

The term 'linga' is used in the sense of root. Kēśirāja has enumerated nine varieties of 'linga' including avyaya linga in Kannada. That means even the indeclinables get the suffix in Kannada, examples: 'kammidam, kammidaḷam, kammitaḡim'. This is possible only in the case of Kannada indeclinables. The Sanskrit indeclinables cannot get any suffix. Hence, the phrase. The indeclinables like 'antar, bahir,' cannot get any suffix. To add suffix to them, they must be combined with other Sanskrit words, examples: 'antarmukha, bahirudyāna'. To this, suffix can be added, examples: 'antarmukham, bahirudyānadoḷ'. The situation in Kannada with regard to Sanskrit indeclinables is that the Sanskrit indeclinable cannot get any suffix in Kannada, but if it is combined to form a compound in Sanskrit it can behave before the suffix in Kannada. This situation is not strictly followed in Tamil and Telugu where as it is compulsory in Kannada. Hence, it is included as one of the special features of Kannada.

Sithiladvitva :

Sithiladvitva is an interesting phenomenon which means loose cluster. Here, r, ḷ and ḷ which are the final sounds of the first component are loosely pronounced, examples: 'erde, bardila, alargaḷ, taḷirgaḷ, negaḷdam, amardam, kuḷirgāḷi, kadirjonnam'. Though Kēśirāja has termed the pronunciation of r, ḷ and ḷ as loose, it is the sounds g, d, b after these sounds that are loose. Technically, they are fricatives. Fricativisation of the stop between the two vowels and between r, ḷ, ḷ and a vowel is the general Dravidian phenomenon, the remnants of which are found in Kannada. This is peculiar compared to Sanskrit.

Yati Vilanghana :

This is not a grammatical subject. It belongs to prosody. 'yati' is a pause to take breath while uttering the verse. Yati Vilanghana means 'yati' not to be followed. This 'yati' is to be strictly followed in Sanskrit. There, if not followed, it is a mistake. In Kannada it is not followed and not following 'yati' is a merit and this is characteristic feature in Kannada. This concept of 'yati' though has come from Sanskrit, comes in the position of 'tāḷa' in opposition to the Sanskrit wherein it comes in the position of breath.

In addition to the characteristics listed by Kēśirāja, there are other features which are characteristic of Kannada that have to be included.

Kriyā Samāsa :

It is a variety of Samāsa wherein the second member of the compound is in the verb form and the first member a noun. In all the existing traditional varieties, verb form never forms the component of the construction. Such forms with verb forms are found in Kannada, examples: 'boḷedoṭṭam, bijayangaidam, manangoḷḷu'. These forms are included under a separate category called 'kriyā samāsa' which is found only in Kannada grammar. This is not found in Tamil and Telugu.

Avyaya Linga :

Avyaya linga is the indeclinable stem; that is, the suffix is added to the indeclinable, examples: 'mattina, āgaḷina'. Indeclinable, by definition can not take any suffix what so ever. But in Kannada it is a peculiar feature. This phenomenon is not found in any other Dravidian language.

Noun - Verb :

In Kannada, if verbal suffixes are added to the nouns, pronouns, adjectives and numerals, they behave as verbs. It is common that verbal suffixes are added to the verb roots. But, here the verbal suffixes added to nouns, examples: 'Kēśhavanem – I am Kēśhava, maganay – you are a son, oḷḷiden – I am good, oḷḷiday – you are good, peḡen – I am different, peḡar – They are different, orven – I am one, orvay – you are one'. This to some extent and form, is found in Tamil and Telugu, but the addition of such suffix to pronouns and numerals, is rather peculiar to Kannada.

v - b Change :

The sound 'v' has changed to 'b' in Kannada since the earliest times, examples : 'vā - bā, vaḷḷi - baḷḷi, vaḷikke - baḷika'. This change is not found in any other Dravidian language except Brahui.

These are the characteristic features that set apart Kannada from other languages.

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